DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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ON THE BASIS OF THE VERSION OF
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IN NINE VOLUMES

VII

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CONTENTS

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

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BOOK LVI

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ ἕκτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

α. Ὡς τοῖς τὰ τέκνα ἔχουσι καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τοῖς ἀτέκνοις καὶ ἀγάμοις ὁ Αὔγουστος διελέχθη, καὶ ὅσα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὥρισεν.
β. Ὡς Κυϊντίλιος Οὐᾶρος ἡττηθεὶς ὑπὸ Κελτῶν ἀπέθανεν.
γ. Ὡς τὸ Ὁμονόειον καθιερώθη.
δ. Ὡς ἡ Λιουίας στοὰ καθιερώθη.
ε. Ὡς Αὔγουστος μετήλλαξεν.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἔτη ἕξ, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἵδε ἐγένοντο

Κ. Σουλπίκιος Κ. υἱ. Καμερῖνος
Γ. Ποππαῖος Κ. υἱ. Σαβῖνος ὕπ.
Π. Κορνήλιος Π. υἱ. Δολοβέλλας
Γ. Ἰούνιος Γ. υἱ.[1] Σιλανός ὕπ.
Μ. Αἰμίλιος Κ. υἱ. Λέπιδος
Τ. Στατίλιος Τ. υἱ. Ταῦρος ὕπ.
Γερμανικὸς Τι. Καίσαρος υἱ. Καῖσαρ
Γ. Φοντέιος[2] Γ. υἱ. Καπίτων ὕπ
Λ. Μουνάτιος Λ. υἱ. Πλάγκος
Γ. Σίλιος Γ. υἱ. Καικίνα Λάργος[3] ὕπ.
Σέξτος Πομπήιος Σέξτου υἱ.
Σέξτος Ἀπουλέιος[4] Σέξτου υἱ. ὕπ.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλοι καθῄρουν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, μετὰ τὸν χειμῶνα ἐν ᾧ Κύιντος Σουλπίκιος καὶ Γάιος Σαβῖνος ὑπάτευσαν, ἀνεκομίσθη· καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Αὔγουστος ἐς

[1] Γ. υἱ. supplied by Bs. [2] Φοντέιος Bs., φοντοιος M.
[3] Καικίνα Λάργος Bs., καικιναλαριος M.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

BOOK LVI

The following is contained in the Fifty-sixth of Dio's *Rome*:—

How Augustus addressed those who were fathers and afterwards the childless and unmarried, and the recompenses that he established for them (chaps. 1–10).
How Quintilius Varus was defeated by the Germans and perished (chaps. 18–24).
How the temple of Concord was dedicated (chap. 25).
How the Portico of Livia[1] was dedicated (chap. 27).
How Augustus passed away (chaps. 29–47).

Duration of time, six years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated:—

A.D.
9 Q. Sulpicius Q. f. Camerinus, C. Poppaeus Q. f. Sabinus.
10 P. Cornelius P. f. Dolabella, C. Iunius C. f. Silanus.
11 M. Aemilius Q. f. Lepidus, T. Statilius T. f. Taurus.
12 Germanicus Ti. Caesaris f. Caesar, C. Fonteius C. f. Capito.
13 L. Munatius L. f. Plancus, C. Silius C. f. Caecina Largus.
14 Sextus Pompeius Sexti f., Sextus Apuleius Sexti f.

While others were reducing these places, Tiberius returned to Rome after the winter in which Quintus Sulpicius and Gaius Sabinus became consuls. Even Augustus himself went out into the suburbs to meet A.D. 9

[1] The compiler of this synopsis had before him a faulty reading in chap. 27 (see critical note on that passage); the Porticus Iulia is meant.

[4] Ἀπουλέιος Bs., ἀπούλιος M.

τὸ προάστειον ἀπαντήσας ἦλθέ τε μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐς
τὰ Σέπτα, κἀνταῦθα ἀπὸ βήματος τὸν δῆμον
ἠσπάσατο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τά τε ἄλλα τὰ προσ-
ήκοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐποίησε καὶ θέας
2 ἐπινικίους διὰ τῶν ὑπάτων. ἐπειδή τε οἱ ἱππῆς
πολλῇ ἐν αὐταῖς σπουδῇ τὸν νόμον τὸν περὶ τῶν
μήτε[1] γαμούντων μήτε τεκνούντων καταλυθῆναι
ἠξίουν, ἤθροισεν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν χωρὶς μὲν τοὺς
ἀγυναίους σφῶν χωρὶς δὲ τοὺς γεγαμηκότας ἢ καὶ
τέκνα ἔχοντας, καὶ ἰδὼν πολὺ τούτους ἐκείνων
ἐλάττους ἤλγησέ τε καὶ διελέξατο αὐτοῖς τοιάδε·
2 "Εἰ καὶ ὀλίγοι παντάπασιν, ὥς γε πρὸς τοσοῦ-
τον ὄγκον πόλεως εἰπεῖν, καὶ πολλῷ καταδεέστεροι
τῶν ἑτέρων τῶν μηδὲν τῶν δεόντων πράττειν
ἐθελόντων ἐστέ, ἀλλ' ἔγωγε καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο
μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ καὶ πολλὴν χάριν ὑμῖν ἔχω,
ὅτι καὶ ἐπείσθητε καὶ τὴν πατρίδα συμπληθύετε.
2 ἐκ γὰρ τῶν οὕτω βιούντων παμπληθεῖς οἱ μετὰ
ταῦτα Ῥωμαῖοι γενήσονται· καὶ γὰρ τὸ κατ'
ἀρχὰς καὶ πάνυ βραχεῖς ὄντες, ἔπειτα γάμων
ἐπιμεληθέντες καὶ τέκνα ποιησάμενοι πάντας
ἀνθρώπους οὐκ εὐανδρίᾳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πο-
3 λυανθρωπίᾳ ὑπερέφυμεν. ὧν χρὴ μεμνημένους
τὸ θνητὸν τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν ἀιδίῳ διαδοχῇ γενῶν
ὥσπερ τινῶν λαμπαδίων παραμυθεῖσθαι, ἵν' ἐν
ᾧ μόνῳ τῆς θείας εὐδαιμονίας ἡττώμεθα, τοῦτ'
4 ἐξ ἀλλήλων ἀθάνατον καθιστώμεθα. διὰ γὰρ
τοῦτο καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ὁ πρῶτος καὶ μέγιστος
ἐκεῖνος θεός, ὁ τεκτηνάμενος ἡμᾶς, διχῇ τε διεῖλε
τὸ θνητὸν γένος, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄρρεν αὐτοῦ τὸ δὲ

[1] μήτε Bk., μὴ M.

him, accompanied him to the Saepta, and there from a tribunal greeted the people. Following this he performed all the ceremonies proper to such occasions, and caused the consuls to give triumphal games. And when the knights were very urgent, during the games, in seeking the repeal of the law regarding the unmarried and the childless, he assembled in one part of the Forum the unmarried men of their number, and in another those who were married, including those who also had children. Then, perceiving that the latter were much fewer in number than the former, he was filled with grief and addressed them somewhat as follows: A.D. 9

"Though you are but few altogether, in comparison with the vast throng that inhabits this city, and are far less numerous than the others, who are unwilling to perform any of their duties, yet for this very reason I for my part praise you the more, and am heartily grateful to you because you have shown yourselves obedient and are helping to replenish the fatherland. For it is by lives so conducted that the Romans of later days will become a mighty multitude. We were at first a mere handful, you know, but when we had recourse to marriage and begot us children, we came to surpass all mankind not only in the manliness of our citizens but in the size of our population as well. Bearing this in mind, we must console the mortal side of our nature with an endless succession of generations that shall be like the torch-bearers in a race, so that through one another we may render immortal the one side of our nature in which we fall short of divine bliss. It was for this cause most of all that that first and greatest god, who fashioned us, divided the race of mortals in

θῆλυ ἀποδείξας ἔρωτα καὶ ἀνάγκην σφίσι τῆς
πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνουσίας ἐνέβαλε, καὶ γόνιμον
τὴν ὁμιλίαν αὐτῶν ἐποίησεν, ὅπως ἐκ τῶν ἀεὶ
γεννωμένων αἴδιον τρόπον τινὰ καὶ τὸ θνητὸν
5 ἀπεργάσηται. καίτοι καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν οἱ
μὲν ἄρρενες αἱ δὲ θήλειαι νομίζονται, καὶ οἱ μὲν
γεγεννηκέναι τινὰς οἱ δ' ἐκ τινῶν γεγεννῆσθαι
παραδέδονται· οὕτω καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις τοῖς μηδὲν
τούτων δεομένοις καλὸν εἶναι δέδοκται καὶ γάμος
καὶ τέκνωσις.
3 "Ὥστε ὀρθῶς μὲν ἐποιήσατε τοὺς θεοὺς μιμη-
σάμενοι, ὀρθῶς δὲ καὶ τοὺς πατέρας ζηλώσαντες,
ἵν' ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς ἐκεῖνοι ἐγέννησαν, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς
ἄλλους τεκνώσητε, καὶ καθάπερ ἐκείνους ὑμεῖς
προγόνους καὶ ἡγεῖσθε καὶ ὀνομάζετε, οὕτω καὶ
2 ὑμᾶς ἕτεροι καὶ νομίσωσι καὶ προσείπωσι, τά τε
ἔργα ὅσα ἐκεῖνοι καλῶς πράξαντες ὑμῖν μετ'
εὐκλείας παρέδοσαν, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἄλλοις παραδῶτε,
καὶ τὰ κτήματα ὅσα αὐτοὶ κτησάμενοι κατέλιπον
ὑμῖν, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἑτέροις ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν γεγονόσι
3 καταλίπητε. πῶς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄριστον γυνὴ
σώφρων οἰκουρὸς οἰκονόμος παιδοτρόφος ὑγιαί-
νοντά τε εὐφρᾶναι καὶ ἀσθενοῦντα θεραπεῦσαι,
εὐτυχοῦντί τε συγγενέσθαι καὶ δυστυχοῦντα
παραμυθήσασθαι, τοῦ τε νέου τὴν ἐμμανῆ φύσιν
καθεῖρξαι καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τὴν ἔξωρον
4 αὐστηρότητα κεράσαι; πῶς δ' οὐχ ἡδὺ ἀνελέσθαι
τέκνον ἐξ ἀμφοῖν συμπεφυκὸς καὶ θρέψαι καὶ
παιδεῦσαι, εἰκόνα μὲν τοῦ σώματος εἰκόνα δὲ καὶ
τῆς ψυχῆς, ὥστε ἐν ἐκείνῳ αὐξηθέντι ἕτερον αὐτὸν
5 γενέσθαι; πῶς δ' οὐ μακαριστόν, ἀπαλλαττόμενον
ἐκ τοῦ βίου, διάδοχον καὶ κληρονόμον οἰκεῖον ἐξ

twain, making one half of it male and the other half female, and implanted in them love and compulsion to mutual intercourse, making their association fruitful, that by the young continually born he might in a way render even mortality eternal. Indeed, even of the gods themselves some are accounted male and others female; and the tradition prevails that some have begotten others and some have been begotten of others. So even among those beings, who need no such device, marriage and the begetting of children have been approved as a noble thing. A.D. 9

"You have done right, therefore, to imitate the gods and right to emulate your fathers, so that, just as they begot you, you also may bring others into the world; that, just as you consider them and name them ancestors, others also may regard you and address you in similar fashion; that the works which they nobly achieved and handed down to you with glory, you also may hand on to others; and that the possessions which they acquired and left to you, you also may leave to others sprung from your own loins. For is there anything better than a wife who is chaste, domestic, a good house-keeper, a rearer of children; one to gladden you in health, to tend you in sickness; to be your partner in good fortune, to console you in misfortune; to restrain the mad passion of youth and to temper the unseasonable harshness of old age? And is it not a delight to acknowledge a child who shows the endowments of both parents, to nurture and educate it, at once the physical and the spiritual image of yourself, so that in its growth another self lives again? Is it not blessed, on departing from life, to leave behind as

ἑαυτοῦ γεγονότα καὶ τοῦ γένους καὶ τῆς οὐσίας
καταλιπεῖν, καὶ τῇ μὲν φύσει τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ δια-
λυθῆναι τῇ δὲ ἐκείνου διαδοχῇ ζῆσαι, καὶ μήτ' ἐπ'
ἀλλοτρίοις ὥσπερ ἐν πολέμῳ γενέσθαι μήτε ἄρδην
6 ὥστε ἐν πολέμῳ γε[1] ἀπολέσθαι; καὶ ταῦτα μὲν
τὰ κέρδη ἴδιά που τοῖς γαμοῦσι καὶ τεκνοποιοῦσιν
ὑπάρχει· τῷ δὲ δὴ κοινῷ, οὗπερ ἕνεκα καὶ παρὰ
γνώμην πολλὰ ποιεῖν ὀφείλομεν, πῶς μὲν οὐ
καλὸν πῶς δ' οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον, εἴπερ αἵ τε πόλεις
7 καὶ οἱ δῆμοι ἔσονται, καὶ ὑμεῖς τε ἑτέρων ἄρξετε
καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὑμῖν ὑπακούσουσι, πολυπληθία[2]
ἔν τε εἰρήνῃ γῆν ἐργάσασθαι καὶ ναυτιλίας[3]
ναυτίλασθαι τέχνας τε ἀσκῆσαι καὶ δημιουργίας
ἐπιτηδεῦσαι, καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ τά τε ὄντα προ-
θυμότερον διὰ τὰ γένη σῶσαι καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν
8 ἀπολλυμένων ἑτέρους ἀντικαταστῆσαι; ὑμᾶς
μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες (μόνοι γὰρ ἂν[4] ἄνδρες δικαίως
ὀνομάζοισθε), καὶ ὦ πατέρες (καὶ γὰρ ταύτην
ἄξιοι τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ὁμοίως ἐμοὶ ἔχειν ἐστέ) καὶ
φιλῶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐπαινῶ, καὶ τούτοις τε οἷς
ἔθηκα ἄθλοις ἀγάλλω, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἄλλαις
καὶ τιμαῖς καὶ ἀρχαῖς ἐπιγαυρώσω, ὥστ' αὐτούς
τε μεγάλα καρπώσασθαι καὶ τοῖς παισὶ μὴ
9 ἐλάττω καταλιπεῖν. μεταβήσομαι δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ
τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς οὔτε τι τῶν ὁμοίων ὑμῖν πε-
ποιηκότας καὶ πάντων διὰ τοῦτο τῶν ἐναντίων
τευξομένους, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἀλλὰ
καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον καταμάθητε
ὅσον αὐτῶν διαφέρετε."

[1] ἐν πολέμῳ γε corrupt. Dindorf rejected it altogether as a mere repetition from the line above; Capps suggests ἐν λοιμῷ.

successor and heir to your blood and substance one that is your own, sprung from your own loins, and to have only the human part of you waste away, while you live in the child as your successor, so that you need not fall into the hands of aliens, as in war, nor perish utterly, as in a pestilence? These, now, are the private advantages that accrue to those who marry and beget children; but for the State, for whose sake we ought to do many things that are even distasteful to us, how excellent and how necessary it is, if cities and peoples are to exist, and if you are to rule others and all the world is to obey you, that there should be a multitude of men, to till the earth in time of peace, to make voyages, practise arts, and follow handicrafts, and, in time of war, to protect what we already have with all the greater zeal because of family ties and to replace those that fall by others. Therefore, men,—for you alone may properly be called men,—and fathers,—for you are as worthy to hold this title as I myself,—I love you and praise you for this; and I not only bestow the prizes I have already offered but will distinguish you still further by other honours and offices, so that you may not only reap great benefits yourselves but may also leave them to your children undiminished. I will now go over to the other group, whose actions will bear no comparison with yours and whose reward, therefore, will be directly the opposite. You will thus learn not alone from my words, but even more from my deeds, how far you excel them." A.D. 9

[2] πολυπληθία Bk., πολυπληθίαι M.
[3] ναυτιλίας Bk., ναυτιλίαι M.
[4] ἂν supplied by Dind.

4 Ταῦτ' εἰπών, καὶ τὰ μὲν παραχρῆμα δούς τισιν
αὐτῶν τὰ δ' ὑποσχόμενος, μετῆλθέ τε πρὸς τοὺς
ἑτέρους καὶ ἔλεξε καὶ ἐκείνοις τάδε·
2 "Θαυμαστὸν μέν τι πέπονθα, ὢ τί ἂν
ὀνομάσαιμι ὑμᾶς; ἄνδρας; ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἀνδρῶν
ἔργον παρέχεσθε. πολίτας; ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐφ' ὑμῖν,
ἡ πόλις ἀπόλλυται. Ῥωμαίους; ἀλλ' ἐπιχειρεῖτε
τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο καταλῦσαι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔγωγε,
οἵτινές ποτέ ἐστε καὶ ὁτιδήποτε χαίρετε ὀνομαζό-
3 μενοι, παράδοξον μέν τι πάθος πέπονθα· ὑπὲρ
γὰρ τῆς πολυανθρωπίας ὑμῶν ἀεί τε πάντα ποιῶν
καὶ νῦν ἐπιτιμήσειν ὑμῖν μέλλων, ἀηδῶς ὑμᾶς ὁρῶ
πολλοὺς ὄντας, καὶ μᾶλλον ἂν ἠβουλόμην τοσού-
τους μὲν τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐκείνους, οἷς προδιείλεγμαι,[1]
εἶναι, ὅσοι[2] ὑμεῖς ὁρᾶσθε, ὑμᾶς δὲ δὴ μάλιστα
μὲν σὺν ἐκείνοις τετάχθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, μηδὲ εἶναι·
4 οἵτινες οὔτε τῆς τῶν θεῶν προνοίας οὔτε τῆς τῶν
προπατόρων ἐπιμελείας ἐνθυμηθέντες ἐπιθυμεῖτε
πᾶν μὲν τὸ γένος ἡμῶν ἀφανίσαι καὶ θνητὸν
ὄντως ποιῆσαι, πᾶν δὲ τὸ Ῥωμαίων ἔθνος φθεῖραι
καὶ παῦσαι. τί μὲν γὰρ ἂν ὑπολειφθείη σπέρμα
ἀνθρώπινον, ἂν τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες
πράξωσιν; ὧν ἀρχηγοὶ γεγονότες εὐλόγως ἂν
5 τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς πανωλεθρίας ἔχοιτε.[3] πῶς δ' οὐ,
κἂν[4] μηδένες ἄλλοι ζηλώσωσιν ὑμᾶς, εἰκότως ἂν
καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο μισοῖσθε, ὅτι παροράτέ τε ἃ
μηδεὶς ἂν ἄλλος παρίδοι καὶ ἀμελεῖτε ὧν οὐδεὶς
ἂν[5] ἄλλος ἀμελήσειε, καὶ νόμους καὶ ἐπιτηδεύ-

[1] προδιείλεγμαι R. Steph., προσδιείλεγμαι M.
[2] ὅσοι Rk, ἢ ὅσοι M. [3] ἔχοιτε Bk., ἔχητε M.
[4] πῶς δ' οὐ, κἂν Cobet, πῶς δ' οὐκ, ὂν M.
[5] ἂν supplied by R. Steph.

BOOK LVI

After this speech he made presents to some of them at once and promised to make others; he then went over to the other crowd and spoke to them as follows: A.D. 9

"A strange experience has been mine, O—what shall I call you? Men? But you are not performing any of the offices of men. Citizens? But for all that you are doing, the city is perishing. Romans? But you are undertaking to blot out this name altogether. Well, at any rate, whatever you are and by whatever name you delight to be called, mine has been an astonishing experience; for though I am always doing everything to promote an increase of population among you and am now about to rebuke you, I grieve to see that there are a great many of you. I could rather have wished that those others to whom I have just spoken were as numerous as you prove to be, and that preferably you were ranged with them, or otherwise did not exist at all. For you, heedless alike of the providence of the gods and of the watchful care of your forefathers, are bent upon annihilating our entire race and making it in truth mortal, are bent upon destroying and bringing to an end the entire Roman nation. For what seed of human beings would be left, if all the rest of mankind should do what you are doing? For you have become their leaders, and so would rightly bear the responsibility for the universal destruction. And even if no others emulate you, would you not be justly hated for the very reason that you overlook what no one else would overlook, and neglect what no one else would neglect, introducing customs and practices which, if imitated,

ματα τοιαῦτα ἐσφέρετε ἃ ζηλώσαντες μὲν πάντες ἂν ἀπόλοιντο, μισήσαντες δ' ὑμᾶς ἂν δικαιώσειαν.
6 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν φονέων φειδόμεθα ὅτι μὴ πάντες φονεύουσιν, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἱεροσύλους ἀφίεμεν ὅτι μὴ πάντες ἱεροσυλοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὅστις[1] ἂν τῶν ἀπειρημένων τι πράττων ἁλῷ, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τούτου κολάζεται, ὅτι μόνος ἢ καὶ μετ' ὀλίγων
5 ποιεῖ τι τοιοῦτον ὃ μηδεὶς ἕτερος. καίτοι κἂν τὰ μέγιστά τις ἀδικήματα ὀνομάσῃ, οὐδέν ἐστι τἆλλα πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ νῦν ὑφ' ὑμῶν γιγνόμενον, οὐχ ὅτι ἓν πρὸς ἓν ἐξεταζόμενα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁμοῦ πάντα πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ ἓν παραβαλλόμενα. καὶ γὰρ μιαιφονεῖτε, μηδὲ τεκνοῦντες ἀρχὴν τοὺς ἐξ
2 ὑμῶν γεννηθῆναι ὀφείλοντας, καὶ ἀνοσιουργεῖτε, τά τε ὀνόματα καὶ τὰς τιμὰς τῶν προγόνων παύοντες, καὶ ἀσεβεῖτε, τά τε γένη ὑμῶν τὰ καταδειχθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἀφανίζοντες, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἀναθημάτων αὐτῶν, τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν, ἀπολλύντες, τά τε ἱερὰ διὰ τούτου καὶ
3 τοὺς ναοὺς αὐτῶν ἀνατρέποντες. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν καταλύετε, μὴ πειθόμενοι τοῖς νόμοις, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα προδίδοτε, στερίφην τε αὐτὴν καὶ ἄγονον ἀπεργαζόμενοι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἄρδην κατασκάπτετε, ἔρημον τῶν οἰκησόντων ποιοῦντες· ἄνθρωποι γάρ που πόλις ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἰκίαι οὐδὲ στοαὶ οὐδ' ἀγοραὶ ἀνδρῶν κεναί.
4 "'Ενθυμήθητε οὖν, τίνα μὲν οὐκ ἂν ὀργὴν ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἀρχηγέτης ἡμῶν δικαίως

[1] ἀλλ' ὅστις Rk., ἵν' ἄλλος ὅτις M.

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[1] Compare the words of Nicias (in Thuc. vii. 77): ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλις, καὶ οὐ τείχη οὐδὲ νῆες ἀνδρῶν κεναί (it is men that

would lead to the extermination of all mankind, and, if abhorred, would end in your own punishment? We do not spare murderers, you know, because not every man commits murder, nor do we let temple-robbers go because not everyone robs temples; but anybody who is convicted of committing a forbidden act is punished for the very reason that he alone or in company with a few others does something that no one else would do. Yet, if one were to name over all the worst crimes, the others are as naught in comparison with this one you are now committing, whether you consider them crime for crime or even set all of them together over against this single crime of yours. For you are committing murder in not begetting in the first place those who ought to be your descendants; you are committing sacrilege in putting an end to the names and honours of your ancestors; and you are guilty of impiety in that you are abolishing your families, which were instituted by the gods, and destroying the greatest of offerings to them,—human life,—thus overthrowing their rites and their temples. Moreover, you are destroying the State by disobeying its laws, and you are betraying your country by rendering her barren and childless; nay more, you are laying her even with the dust by making her destitute of future inhabitants. For it is human beings that constitute a city, we are told,[1] not houses or porticos or market-places empty of men. A.D. 9

"Bethink you, therefore, what wrath would justly seize the great Romulus, the founder of our race, if

constitute a city, not walls or ships empty of men). Compare also Soph., *O.R.* 55 f.

λάβοι, λογισάμενος τά τε καθ' ἑαυτόν, ὅθεν
ἐγεννήθη, καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα, ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐκ νομίμων
5 γάμων παιδοποιεῖσθαι ἐθέλετε· τίνα δ' οὐκ ἂν
οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ[1] Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐννοήσαντες ὅτι αὐτοὶ
μὲν καὶ τὰς ἀλλοτρίας κόρας ἥρπασαν, ὑμεῖς δὲ
οὐδὲ τὰς οἰκείας ἀγαπᾶτε, καὶ οἱ μὲν καὶ ἐκ τῶν
πολεμίων ἐπαιδοποιήσαντο, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐδὲ ἐκ
τῶν πολιτίδων τεκνοῦτε· τίνα ὁ Κούρτιος ὁ καὶ
ἀποθανεῖν ὑπομείνας, ἵνα μὴ στερηθῶσι τῶν
γυναικῶν οἱ γεγαμηκότες· τίνα Ἑρσιλία ἡ καὶ
τῇ θυγατρὶ ἀκολουθήσασα καὶ τὰ γαμικὰ πάνθ'
6 ἡμῖν καταδείξασα. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πατέρες ἡμῶν
καὶ ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς Σαβίνους ὑπὲρ τῶν γάμων,
καὶ κατελύσαντο τῶν τε γυναικῶν αὐτῶν καὶ
τῶν τέκνων συναλλαξάντων σφᾶς, ὅρκους τε ἐπὶ
τούτοις ἐπήγαγον καὶ συνθήκας τινὰς ἐποιήσαντο·
7 ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνα πάντα συγχεῖτε. διὰ τί;
ἢ ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀεὶ ἄγυνοι ἦτε, ὥσπερ αἱ ἱέρειαι
αἱ ἀειπαρθένοι ἄνανδροί εἰσιν; οὐκοῦν καὶ κο-
λάζεσθε, ἂν ἀσελγαίνητέ τι, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐκεῖναι.
6 "Πικρῶς εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ τραχέως δοκῶ ὑμῖν
διαλέγεσθαι. ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν λογίσασθε ὅτι
καὶ οἱ ἰατροὶ συχνοὺς καὶ καίοντες καὶ τέμνοντες,
ὅταν μὴ δύνωνται ἄλλως πως ὑγιεῖς γενέσθαι,
2 θεραπεύουσιν, ἔπειτα δὲ ὅτι οὔτε ἑκὼν οὔθ'
ἡδέως αὐτὰ λέγω, ὥστε ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦθ'
ὑμῖν ἐγκαλῶ ὅτι με ἐς τούτους τοὺς λόγους
προηγάγετε, ὑμεῖς δ' εἴπερ ἄχθεσθε τοῖς εἰρη-
μένοις, μὴ ποιεῖτε ταῦτα ἐφ' οἷς ἀναγκαίως κακῶς
ἀκούετε. εἰ γὰρ δὴ δάκνει τινὰς ὑμῶν τὰ ὑπ'
ἐμοῦ λεγόμενα, πῶς οὐ πολὺ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐμὲ

[1] αὐτοῦ Leuncl., αὐτὸν M.

he could reflect on the circumstances of his own birth and then upon your conduct in refusing to beget children even by lawful marriages! How wrathful would the Romans who were his followers be, if they could realize that after they themselves had even seized foreign girls, you are not satisfied even with those of your own race, and after they had got children even by enemy wives, you will not beget them even of women who are citizens! How angry would Curtius be, who was willing to die that the married men might not be bereft of their wives! How indignant Hersilia, who attended her daughter at her wedding and instituted for us all the rites of marriage! Nay, our fathers even fought the Sabines to obtain brides and made peace through the intercession of their wives and children; they administered oaths and made sundry treaties for this very purpose; but you are bringing all their efforts to naught. And why? Do you desire to live apart from women always, even as the Vestal Virgins live apart from men? Then you should also be punished as they are if you are guilty of any lewdness. A.D. 9

"I know that I seem to you to speak bitterly and harshly. But reflect, in the first place, that physicians, too, treat many patients by cautery and surgery, when they cannot be cured in any other way; and, in the second place, that it is not my wish or my pleasure to speak thus. Hence I have this further reproach to bring against you, that you have provoked me to this discourse. As for yourselves, if you do not like what I say, do not continue this conduct for which you are being and must ever be reproached. If my words do wound some of you, how much more do your actions wound both me and

καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ῥωμαίους πάντας τὰ ὑφ' ὑμῶν
3 *ποιούμενα; οὐκοῦν εἴπερ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀσχάλλετε, μεταβάλεσθε,*[1] *ἵνα καὶ ἐπαινέσω ὑμᾶς καὶ διαμείψωμαι. ὅτι γὰρ οὔτε τῇ φύσει χαλεπός εἰμι, πάντα τε ὅσα προσῆκον ἦν τὸν ἀγαθὸν νομοθέτην πρᾶξαι ἀνθρωπίνως προκατεστησάμην, οὐδ' αὐτοὶ ἀγνοεῖτε.*

4 "*Ἦν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ πρόσθεν ἐξὸν ἀμελεῖν τισι παιδοποιίας καὶ γάμων· καὶ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς ἅμα τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς πολιτείας καταστάσει ἀκριβῶς περὶ αὐτῶν ἐνομοθετήθη, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πολλὰ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἔδοξεν, ἃ περιττὸν*
5 *ἂν εἴη καταλέγειν· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπηύξησα μὲν τὰ ἐπιτίμια τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσιν, ἵνα φόβῳ τοῦ περιπεσεῖν αὐτοῖς σωφρονίζοισθε, ἔθηκα δὲ καὶ ἆθλα τοῖς πειθαρχοῦσι τοσαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα ἡλίκα καὶ ὅσα*[2] *ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾷ ἄλλῃ ἀνδραγαθίᾳ δίδοται, ἵν' εἰ καὶ διὰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, διά γε ταῦτα καὶ*
6 *γαμεῖν καὶ παιδοποιεῖν ἀναπείθοισθε. ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς οὔτε ἐκείνων τινὸς ὀριγνηθέντες οὔτε τῶν ἐπιτιμίων τι φοβηθέντες πάντα τε αὐτὰ κατεφρονήσατε καὶ πάντα αὐτὰ ὡς οὐδὲ ἐν πόλει τινὶ οἰκοῦντες κατεπατήσατε. καὶ φατὲ μὲν τὸν εὔζωνον δὴ τοῦτον καὶ ἐλεύθερον βίον τὸν ἄγυνον καὶ ἄτεκνον ἐπανῃρῆσθαι, λῃστῶν δὲ δὴ καὶ θηρίων τῶν*
7 *ἀγριωτάτων οὐδὲν διαφέρετε. οὐ γὰρ δήπου*[3] *μοναυλίᾳ χαίρετε, ἵν' ἄνευ γυναικῶν διάγητε, οὐδὲ ἔστιν ὅστις ὑμῶν ἢ σιτεῖται μόνος ἢ καθεύδει μόνος, ἀλλ' ἐξουσίαν καὶ ὑβρίζειν καὶ ἀσελγαίνειν*

[1] *μεταβάλεσθε* Bk., *μεταβάλλεσθε* M.
[2] *ὅσα* Dind., *οἷα* M.
[3] *δήπου* Bk., *δὴ δήπου* M.

all the rest of the Romans! Accordingly, if you are vexed in very truth, change your course, so that I may praise and recompense you; for that I am not harsh by nature and that I have accomplished, subject to human limitations, everything it was proper for a good law-giver to do, even you cannot fail to realize. A.D. 9

"Indeed, it was never permitted to any man, even in olden times, to neglect marriage and the begetting of children; but from the very outset, when the government was first established, strict laws were made regarding these matters, and subsequently many decrees were passed by both the senate and the people, which it would be superfluous to enumerate here. I, now, have increased the penalties for the disobedient, in order that through fear of becoming liable to them you might be brought to your senses; and to the obedient I have offered more numerous and greater prizes than are given for any other display of excellence, in order that for this reason, if for no other, you might be persuaded to marry and beget children. Yet you have not striven for any of the recompenses nor feared any of the penalties, but have shown contempt for all these measures and have trodden them all underfoot, as if you were not living in a civilized community. You talk, forsooth, about this 'free' and 'untrammelled' life that you have adopted, without wives and without children; but you are not a whit better than brigands or the most savage of beasts. For surely it is not your delight in a solitary existence that leads you to live without wives, nor is there one of you who either eats alone or sleeps alone; no, what you want is to have full liberty for wantonness and

2 ἔχειν ἐθέλετε. καίτοι καὶ μνηστεύειν ὑμῖν ἁπαλὰς ἔτι κόρας καὶ μηδέπω γάμων ὡραίας[1] ἐπέτρεψα, ἵνα τὸ ὄνομα τῶν μελλονυμφίων ἔχοντες οἰκωφελῶς βιῴητε, καὶ ἐξελευθέρας τοῖς γε ἔξω τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ οὖσιν ἄγεσθαι συνεχώρησα, ἵν' εἰ καί τις ἐξ ἔρωτος ἢ καὶ συνηθείας τινὸς ἐς
3 τοῦθ' ὑπαχθείη, ἐννόμως αὐτὸ ποιοίη. καὶ οὐδὲ ἐς ταῦτα μέντοι κατήπειξα ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τρία ἔτη ὅλα πρὸς παρασκευὴν ὑμῖν ἔδωκα, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον δύο. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν οὐδ' οὕτως οὔτ' ἀπειλῶν οὔτε προτρέπων οὔτ' ἀνα-
4 βαλλόμενος οὔτε δεόμενός τι πεποίηκα. ὁρᾶτε γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὅσῳ πλείους τῶν γεγαμηκότων ἐστέ· οὓς ἐχρῆν ἤδη τοσούτους ἑτέρους, μᾶλλον δὲ πολλαπλασίους παῖδας ἡμῖν παρεσχηκέναι. πῶς μὲν γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως τὰ γένη διαμείνειε, πῶς δ' ἂν τὸ κοινὸν διασωθείη μήτε γαμούντων ἡμῶν
5 μήτε παιδοποιουμένων; οὐ γάρ που καὶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς προσδοκᾶτέ τινας ἀναφύσεσθαι[2] τοὺς διαδεξομένους τά τε ὑμέτερα καὶ τὰ δημόσια, ὥσπερ οἱ μῦθοι λέγουσιν. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ὅσιον ἢ καὶ καλῶς ἔχον ἐστὶ τὸ μὲν ἡμέτερον γένος παύσασθαι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐν ἡμῖν ἀποσβῆναι, ἄλλοις δέ τισιν ἀνθρώποις Ἕλλησιν ἢ καὶ βαρ-
6 βάροις τὴν πόλιν ἐκδοθῆναι. ἢ τοὺς μὲν δούλους δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο μάλιστα ἐλευθεροῦμεν, ὅπως ὡς πλείστους ἐξ αὐτῶν πολίτας ποιώμεθα, τοῖς τε συμμάχοις τῆς πολιτείας μεταδίδομεν ὅπως πληθύωμεν· αὐτοὶ δ' ὑμεῖς οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Ῥωμαῖοι, οἱ[3] τοὺς προγόνους ἐκείνους τοὺς Μαρκίους[4] τοὺς

[1] ὡραίας R. Steph., ὥρας M.
[2] ἀναφύσεσθαι Bk., ἀναφύεσθαι M.

licentiousness. Yet I allowed you to pay your court to girls still of tender years and not yet ripe for marriage, in order that, classed as prospective bridegrooms, you might live as family men should; and I permitted those not in the senatorial order to wed freedwomen, so that, if anyone through love or intimacy of any sort should be disposed to such a course, he might go about it lawfully. And I did not limit you rigidly even to this, but at first gave you three whole years in which to make your preparations, and later two. Yet not even so, by threatening, or urging, or postponing, or entreating, have I accomplished anything. For you see for yourselves how much more numerous you are than the married men, when you ought by this time to have provided us with as many children besides, or rather with several times your number. How otherwise can families continue? How can the State be preserved, if we neither marry nor have children? For surely you are not expecting men to spring up from the ground to succeed to your goods and to the public interests, as the myths describe! And yet it is neither right nor creditable that our race should cease, and the name of Romans be blotted out with us, and the city be given over to foreigners—Greeks or even barbarians. Do we not free our slaves chiefly for the express purpose of making out of them as many citizens as possible? And do we not give our allies a share in the government in order that our numbers may increase? And do you, then, who are Romans from the beginning and claim as your A.D. 9

[3] *οἱ* supplied by Bk.
[4] Μαρκίους Reim., *μάρκους* M.

Φαβίους τοὺς Κυιντίους[1] τοὺς Οὐαλερίους τοὺς Ἰουλίους[2] καταλέγοντες, ἐπιθυμεῖτε μεθ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ γένη ἅμα καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἀπο-
8 λέσαι; ἀλλ' ἔγωγε αἰσχύνομαι καὶ ὅτι τοιοῦτον εἰπεῖν προήχθην. παύσασθε οὖν μαινόμενοι, καὶ λογίσασθε ἤδη ποτὲ ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστι, πολλῶν μὲν ἐν ταῖς νόσοις πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἑκάστοτε τελευτώντων, σωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν, ἂν μὴ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῆς ἐκ τῶν ἀεὶ ἐπιγιγνομένων ἀναπληρῶται.

2 "Καὶ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν οἰέσθω με ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι ἔστι τινὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ γάμῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ τεκνοποιίᾳ καὶ δυσχερῆ καὶ λυπηρά· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο ἐνθυμεῖσθε, ὅτι οὐδ' ἄλλο τι ἀγαθὸν ἔχομεν ᾧ μὴ καὶ ἀνιαρόν τι παραμέμικται, καὶ τοῖς γε πλείστοις καὶ μεγίστοις αὐτῶν πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα συμπέφυκεν.
3 ὥστ' εἰ ταῦτ' ἐκκλίνετε, μηδὲ ἐκείνων ἐπορέγεσθε. πᾶσι γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν τοῖς ἀρετὴν καὶ ἡδονήν τινα εἰλικρινῆ ἔχουσι καὶ προπονεῖν καὶ συμπονεῖν καὶ ἐπιπονεῖν χρή· τί γὰρ δεῖ καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐπεξιόντα μακρηγορεῖν; οὐκοῦν εἰ καὶ ἐν τῷ γῆμαι καὶ ἐν τῷ τεκνῶσαι ἀνιαρά τινα ἔνεστιν, ἀντιλογίζεσθε καὶ τὰ ἀμείνονα, καὶ πλείω τε καὶ
4 ἀναγκαιότερα αὐτὰ εὑρήσετε. πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς τοῖς φύσει προσοῦσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν νόμων ἆθλα, ὧν πολλοστὸν μέρος καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν συχνοὺς ἀναπείθει, πάντα ἄν τινα πειθαρχῆσαί μοι ὑπαγάγοιτο. καίτοι πῶς οὐκ αἰσχρόν, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἕτεροι καὶ ἑαυτοὺς προΐενται,

[1] Κυιντίους Reim., κυίντους M.
[2] Ἰουλίους R. Steph. ἰούλλους M.

ancestors the famous Marcii, the Fabii, the Quintii, A.D. 9
the Valerii, and the Julii, do you desire that your families and names alike shall perish with you? Nay, I for my part am ashamed that I have been forced even to mention such a thing. Have done with your madness, then, and stop at last to reflect, that with many dying all the time by disease and many in war it is impossible for the city to maintain itself, unless its population is continually renewed by those who are ever and anon being born.

"And let none of you imagine that I fail to realize that there are disagreeable and painful things incident to marriage and the begetting of children. But bear this in mind, that we do not possess any other good with which some unpleasantness is not mingled, and that in our most abundant and greatest blessings there reside the most abundant and greatest evils. Therefore, if you decline to accept the latter, do not seek to obtain the former, either, since for practically everything that has any genuine excellence or enjoyment one must strive beforehand, strive at the time, and strive afterwards. But why should I prolong my speech by going into all these details? Even if there are, then, some unpleasant things incident to marriage and the begetting of children, set over against them the advantages, and you will find these to be at once more numerous and more compelling. For, in addition to all the other blessings that naturally inhere in this state of life, the prizes offered by the laws should induce everyone to obey me; for a very small part of these inspires many to undergo even death. And is it not disgraceful that for rewards which lead others to

ὑπὲρ τούτων ὑμᾶς μήτε γυναῖκας ἄγεσθαι μήτε
τέκνα τρέφειν βούλεσθαι;

9 "Ἐγὼ μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες πολῖται (νομίζω γὰρ ὑμᾶς
νῦν γε πεπεικέναι καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν πολιτῶν ὀνόματι
ἐμμεῖναι καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν τε πατέρων
προσηγορίαν προσλαβεῖν), ταῦθ' ὑμῖν ἐπετίμησα
ἀηδῶς μὲν ἀναγκαίως δέ, οὐχ ὡς ἐχθρὸς οὐδ' ὡς
μισῶν ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ φιλῶν, καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ ἑτέ-
2 ρους ὁμοίους ὑμῖν πολλοὺς κτήσασθαι, ἵν' ἑστίας ἐν-
νόμους οἰκοῦντες καὶ οἰκίας πλήρεις γενῶν ἔχοντες
τοῖς τε θεοῖς μετά τε τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ μετὰ τῶν
παίδων προσερχώμεθα, καὶ ἀλλήλοις ὁμιλῶμεν
πάντα τε ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου παραβαλλόμενοι καὶ τὰς
ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐλπίδας ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου καρπούμενοι.
ἢ πῶς μὲν ἂν καλῶς ἄρχοιμι ὑμῶν, ἂν ἐλάττους
3 ὑμᾶς ἀεὶ γιγνομένους ὁρῶν ἀνέχωμαι; πῶς δ' ἂν
ἔτι πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὀρθῶς ὀνομαζοίμην, ἂν μὴ καὶ
παῖδας τρέφητε; ὥστ' εἴπερ ὄντως τά τε ἄλλα
ἀγαπᾶτέ με, καὶ ταύτην μοι τὴν προσηγορίαν
οὐχ ὡς κολακεύοντες ἀλλ' ὡς τιμῶντες ἐδώκατε,
ἐπιθυμήσατε καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ πατέρες γενέσθαι,
ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ταύτης μεταλάβητε
καὶ ἐμὲ φερώνυμον αὐτῆς ποιήσητε."

10 Τότε μὲν τοιαῦτα ἀμφοτέροις αὐτοῖς διελέχθη,
μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο τοῖς μὲν τὰ τέκνα ἔχουσι τὰ
γέρα προσεπηύξησε, τοὺς δὲ γεγαμηκότας ἀπὸ
τῶν ἀγύνων τῷ τῶν ἐπιτιμίων διαφόρῳ διεχώρισε,
καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἑκατέροις[1] ἐς τὸ τοὺς πειθαρχή-
σαντάς οἱ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἀναιτίους γενέσθαι
2 προσεπέδωκε. τῶν τε γυναικῶν τισι καὶ παρὰ
τὸν Οὐοκώνειον νόμον, καθ' ὃν οὐδεμιᾷ αὐτῶν

[1] ἑκατέροις R. Steph., ἑκατέρους M.

sacrifice even their lives you should be unwilling A.D. 9
either to marry wives or to rear children?

"Therefore, fellow-citizens,—for I believe that I have now persuaded you both to hold fast to the name of citizens and to secure the title of men and fathers as well,—I have administered this rebuke to you not for my own pleasure but from necessity, and not as your enemy nor as one who hates you but rather loving you and wishing to obtain many others like you, in order that we may have lawful homes to dwell in and houses full of descendants, so that we may approach the gods together with our wives and our children, and in partnership with one another may risk our all in equal measure and reap in like degree the hopes we cherish in them. How, indeed, could I be a good ruler over you, if I could endure to see you growing constantly fewer in number? How could I any longer be rightfully called father by you, if you rear no children? Therefore, if you really hold me in affection, and particularly if you have given me this title not out of flattery but as an honour, be eager now to become both men and fathers, in order that you may not only share this title yourselves but may also justify it as applied to me."

Such were his words to the two groups at that time. Afterwards he increased the rewards to those who had children and in the case of the others made a distinction between the married men and the unmarried by imposing different penalties; furthermore, he granted a year's time to those who were remiss in either respect, in which to obey him and thus escape the penalties. Contrary to the Lex Voconia, according to which no woman could inherit property

οὐδενὸς ὑπὲρ δύο ἥμισυ μυριάδας οὐσίας κληρονομεῖν ἐξῆν, συνεχώρησε τοῦτο ποιεῖν· καὶ ταῖς ἀειπαρθένοις πάνθ' ὅσαπερ αἱ τεκοῦσαι[1] εἶχον
3 ἐχαρίσατο. κἀκ τούτου ὅ τε Πάπιος καὶ ὁ Ποππαῖος νόμος ὑπό τε Μάρκου Παπίου Μουτίλου καὶ ὑπὸ Κυίντου Ποππαίου Σεκούνδου,[2] τῶν τότε ἐν μέρει τοῦ ἔτους ὑπατευόντων, ἐτέθησαν. καὶ συνέβη γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους σφᾶς μὴ ὅτι παῖδας, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ γυναῖκας ἔχειν· καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τούτου ἡ ἀνάγκη τοῦ νόμου κατεφωράθη.

11 Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη, Γερμανικὸς δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἄλλα τε χωρία Δελματικὰ εἷλε καὶ Σπλαῦνον, καίπερ τῇ τε φύσει ἰσχυρὸν ὂν καὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν εὖ πεφραγμένον τούς τε ἀμυνομένους παμπληθεῖς ἔχον. οὔκουν οὔτε μηχαναῖς οὔτε προσβολαῖς ἠδυνήθη τι ἐξεργάσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐκ
2 τοιᾶσδε αὐτὸ συντυχίας ἔλαβε. Πουσίων ἱππεὺς Κελτὸς λίθον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἀφεὶς οὕτω τὴν ἔπαλξιν διέσεισεν ὥστε αὐτήν τε αὐτίκα πεσεῖν καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἐπικεκλιμένον οἱ συγκατασπάσαι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου ἐκπλαγέντες οἱ ἄλλοι καὶ φοβηθέντες τό τε τεῖχος ἐκεῖνο ἐξέλιπον καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνέδραμον, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ταύτην καὶ ἑαυτοὺς παρέδοσαν.

3 Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥαίτινον ἐλθόντες οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀπήλλαξαν. οἱ γὰρ ἐναντίοι βιαζόμενοι τῷ πλήθει σφῶν, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι ἀντέχειν, πῦρ ἐθελούσιοι ἔς τε τὸν κύκλον πέριξ καὶ ἐς τὰ οἰκοδομήματα πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἐνέβαλον, μηχανησάμενοι ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα μὴ παραχρῆμα

[1] τεκοῦσαι R. Steph., τεκνοῦσαι M.

to the value of more than one hundred thousand sesterces, he permitted some women to inherit larger amounts; and he granted the Vestal Virgins all the privileges enjoyed by women who had borne children. Later the Lex Papia Poppaea was framed by Marcus Papius Mutilus and by Quintus Poppaeus Secundus, who were consuls at the time for a part of the year. Now it chanced that both of them were not only childless but were not even married, and from this very circumstance the need of the law was apparent. These were the events in Rome. A.D. 9

Germanicus in the meantime captured Splonum among other places in Dalmatia, in spite of the fact that it occupied a site well fortified by nature, was well protected by walls, and had a vast number of defenders. Consequently he had been unable to make any headway either with engines or by assaults; but he took it as the result of the following incident. Pusio, a German horseman, hurled a stone against the wall and so shook the parapet that it immediately fell and dragged down with it a man who was leaning against it. At this the rest became alarmed and in their fear abandoned that part of the wall and ran up to the citadel; and later they surrendered both the citadel and themselves.

From there the troops of Germanicus came to Raetinum, but did not fare so well here. For the enemy, overwhelmed by their numbers and unable to withstand them, set fire of their own accord to the encircling wall and to the houses adjoining it, contriving, however, to keep it so far as possible from blazing up at once and to make it go unnoticed

[2] Σεκούνδου R. Steph., σεκούδου M.

4 ἐκλάμψῃ ἀλλ' ἐπὶ χρόνον τινὰ διαλάθῃ. καὶ οἱ
μὲν τοῦτο ποιήσαντες ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ἀνεχώρησαν·
ἀγνοοῦντες δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ πεπραγμένον ἐπεσέ-
πεσον ὡς καὶ αὐτοβοεὶ[1] πάντα διαρπάσοντες,
καὶ εἴσω τε τῆς τοῦ πυρὸς περιβολῆς ἐγένοντο, καὶ
οὐ πρότερον εἶδον αὐτό, πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους τὸν
νοῦν ἔχοντες, πρὶν πανταχόθεν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περι-
5 ληφθῆναι. τότε δὲ ἐν παντὶ κινδύνου ἐγένοντο,
ἄνωθεν μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βαλλόμενοι,
ἔξωθεν δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς φλογὸς κακούμενοι, καὶ μήτε
κατὰ χώραν ἀσφαλῶς μεῖναι μήτε πῃ διαπεσεῖν
ἀκινδύνως δυνάμενοι. εἴτε γὰρ ἔξω βέλους ἀφί-
σταντο, πρὸς τοῦ πυρὸς ἀναλοῦντο, εἴτ' ἀπὸ τῆς
φλογὸς ἀπεπήδων, πρὸς τῶν βαλλόντων ἐφθεί-
6 ροντο· καί τινες ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἅμα
ἀπώλοντο, τῇ μὲν τιτρωσκόμενοι τῇ δὲ καιόμενοι.
οἱ μὲν οὖν πλείους τῶν ἐσελθόντων οὕτως ἀπήλ-
λαξαν· ὀλίγοι δέ τινες νεκροὺς ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν
φλόγα ἐμβαλόντες, καὶ δίοδόν σφισι δι' αὐτῶν
καθάπερ ἐπὶ γεφύρας ποιήσαντες, διέφυγον.
7 οὕτω γάρ που τὸ πῦρ ἐπεκράτησεν ὥστε μηδὲ
τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ὄντας κατὰ χώραν μεῖναι,
ἀλλὰ τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτὴν ἐκλιπεῖν καὶ ἐς οἰκήματα
κατώρυχα κατακρυφθῆναι.
12 Ἐκεῖ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, Σερέτιον δέ, ὅπερ
ποτὲ ὁ Τιβέριος πολιορκήσας οὐχ ᾑρήκει, ἐχει-
ρώθη, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ῥᾷον προσ-
εκτήθη. τῶν δ' οὖν λοιπῶν καὶ ὣς ἀνταιρόντων,
καὶ τοῦ τε πολέμου μηκυνομένου καὶ λιμοῦ δι'
αὐτὸν οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ γενομένου, τὸν
Τιβέριον ὁ Αὔγουστος ἐς τὴν Δελματίαν αὖθις

for some time; after doing this they retired to the citadel. The Romans, ignorant of what they had done, rushed in after them, expecting to sack the whole place without striking a blow; thus they got inside the circle of fire, and, with their minds intent upon the enemy, saw nothing of it until they were surrounded by it on all sides. Then they found themselves in the direst peril, being pelted by the men from above and injured by the fire from without. They could neither remain where they were safely nor force their way out anywhere without danger. For if they stood out of range of the missiles, they were scorched by the fire, or, if they leaped back from the flames, they were destroyed by the missiles; and some who got caught in a tight place perished from both causes at once, being wounded on one side and burned on the other. The majority of those who had rushed into the town met this fate; but some few escaped by casting corpses into the flames and making a passage for themselves by using the bodies as a bridge. The fire gained such headway that even those on the citadel could not remain there, but abandoned it in the night and hid themselves in subterranean chambers. These were the operations at that point. A.D. 9

Seretium, which Tiberius had once besieged but had not captured, was reduced, and after this some other places were more easily won. But since in spite of these reverses the remainder of the Dalmatians rose and the war kept dragging on and famine occurred in Italy, largely because of the war, Augustus sent Tiberius once more into Dalmatia.

[1] αὐτοβοεὶ R. Steph., αὐτοβοὶ M.

2 ἔπεμψε. καὶ ὃς ἰδὼν τοὺς στρατιώτας μηκέτι
τὴν τριβὴν φέροντας ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ κινδύνου
διαπολεμῆσαί πως ἐπιθυμοῦντας, καὶ φοβηθεὶς
μὴ καὶ καθ' ἓν ὄντες στασιάσωσι, τριχῇ διεῖλεν
αὐτούς, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τῷ Σιλουανῷ[1] τοὺς δὲ
Μάρκῳ Λεπίδῳ προστάξας ἐπὶ τὸν Βάτωνα μετὰ
3 τῶν λοιπῶν σὺν τῷ Γερμανικῷ ὥρμησε. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι
μὲν οὐ χαλεπῶς τοὺς ἀντιταχθέντας σφίσι μάχαις
κατεστρέψαντο, αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ πάσης τε ὡς εἰπεῖν
τῆς χώρας ἐπλανήθη, τοῦ Βάτωνος ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ
περιφοιτῶντος, καὶ τέλος καταφυγόντι[2] αὐτῷ ἐς
'Ανδήτριον[3] τεῖχος ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ Σαλώνῃ ἐπῳκισ-
4 μένον προσεδρεύσας δεινῶς ἐπόνησε. τό τε γὰρ
φρούριον ἐπ' εὐερκοῦς πάνυ καὶ δυσπροσβάτου
πέτρας ἐτετείχιστο, φάραγξι βαθείαις ποταμοὺς
χειμάρρους ἐχούσαις ἐγκεκλειμένον,[4] καὶ οἱ ἄν-
θρωποι πάντα ἐς αὐτὸ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τὰ μὲν
προεσενηνόχεσαν τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν ὧν
5 ἐκράτουν ἐπήγοντο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὴν σιτο-
πομπίαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐνεδρεύοντες ἐκώλυον,
ὥστε τὸν Τιβέριον, πολιορκεῖν σφας δοκοῦντα,
αὐτὸν τὰ τῶν πολιορκουμένων πάσχειν.

13 'Αποροῦντος οὖν αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ εὑρίσκοντος ὅ
τι πράξῃ (ἥ τε γὰρ προσεδρεία καὶ ματαία καὶ
ἐπικίνδυνος ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἡ ἀποχώρησις ἐπαισχὴς
ἐφαίνετο) ἐθορύβησαν οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ τοσαύ-
τῃ γε καὶ τηλικαύτῃ βοῇ ἐχρήσαντο ὥστε τοὺς
πολεμίους τοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει αὐλιζομένους ἐκ-
2 πλαγῆναί τε καὶ ἀναχωρῆσαι. ἐξ οὖν τούτων τοῦ

[1] Σιλουανῷ Reim., σιλανῶι M.
[2] καταφυγόντι R. Steph., καταφυγόντα M.
[3] 'Ανδήτριον Bs., ἀνδήριον M.

Tiberius saw that the soldiers were impatient of longer delay and were eager to end the war in some way, even if it involved danger; and fearing that if they all remained together they would mutiny, he made three divisions of them: one he assigned to Silvanus and one to Marcus Lepidus, and with the rest he marched with Germanicus against Bato. The first two commanders easily overcame their opponents in battle; but Tiberius had to wander over practically the whole country as Bato went about from place to place, and finally, when the other took refuge in Andetrium, a fortress erected only a short distance from Salonae itself, he found himself in sore straits when he undertook to besiege him. For the place was built upon a rocky height, well fortified and difficult of access, and was encircled by deep ravines through which torrents poured; and the enemy, moreover, had all the necessary provisions, part of which they had previously stored there, while a part they were still bringing from the mountains, which were in their hands. Besides all this, by means of ambuscades they interfered with the Romans' provision trains. Hence Tiberius, though supposed to be besieging them, was himself placed in the position of a besieged force. A.D. 9

He was accordingly at a loss what to do, and could not devise any plan of action; for the siege was proving fruitless and dangerous and a retreat seemed disgraceful. This led to a tumult on the part of the soldiers, who raised an outcry so mighty and so prolonged that the enemy, who were encamped at the foot of the fort, became terrified and retreated. In consequence he was both angry and pleased, and

[1] ἐγκεκλειμένον Dind., ἐγκεκλωμένον M.

μὲν ὀργισθεὶς τοῦ δὲ ἡσθεὶς συνεκάλεσέ τε αὐτούς,
καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπιτιμήσας σφίσι τὰ δὲ καὶ παραι-
νέσας οὔτε ἐθρασύνατο οὔτ᾽ ἀπανέστη, ἀλλὰ κατὰ
χώραν ἡσυχάζων ἔμεινε, μέχρις οὗ ὁ Βάτων
ἀπογνοὺς τὴν ἐπικράτησιν (τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα πλὴν
ὀλίγων ἐκεχείρωτο, καὶ ἡ δύναμις ἣν εἶχε τῆς
τότε ἀντικαθεστηκυίας οἱ ἠλαττοῦτο) διεκηρυ-
3 κεύσατο πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἔπεισε καὶ
τοὺς ἄλλους σπείσασθαι, ἐγκατέλιπεν αὐτούς.
καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐκέτ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἄλλῳ τινί, καίπερ πολλῶν
αὐτὸν ἐπικαλουμένων, ἐβοήθησεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Τι-
βέριος καταφρονήσας ἐκ τούτου τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν
ἐν τῷ τείχει ὄντων, καὶ νομίσας ἀναιμωτί σφων
κρατήσειν, οὐδὲν ἔτι τοῦ χωρίου προείδετο, ἀλλὰ
4 καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ἐρυμνὸν ἐχώρησεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ μήτε
ὁμαλόν τι ἦν μήτε ἐπικατέβαινον οἱ πολέμιοι,
αὐτὸς[1] μὲν ἐπὶ βήματος ἐν περιφανεῖ ἱδρύθη, ὅπως
τά τε ἐπιγιγνόμενα καθορῴη, πρὸς τὸ προθυμότερον
τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀγωνίσασθαι, καὶ ἐν καιρῷ
σφισιν, ἄν που δεήσῃ, προσαμύνῃ (καὶ γὰρ
μέρος ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τοῦ στρατοῦ, πολὺ γὰρ τῷ
5 πλήθει περιῆν, κατέσχεν), οἱ δ᾽ ἄλλοι τὸ μὲν
πρῶτον ἐν πλαισίῳ πυκνῷ συντεταγμένοι βάδην
ἀνεπορεύοντο, ἔπειτα δ᾽ ὑπό τε τοῦ ὀρθίου καὶ
ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνωμαλίας τοῦ ὄρους (χαραδρῶδές τε
γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἐς φάραγγας πολλαχῇ κατετέτμητο)
διεσπάσθησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν θᾶσσον οἱ δὲ βραδύ-
τερον προσανῄεσαν.

14 Ἰδόντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ Δελμάται ἔξω τε τοῦ
τείχους ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κρημνώδους παρετά-
ξαντο, καὶ λίθους πολλοὺς τοὺς μὲν σφενδόναις

[1] αὐτὸς Leuncl., καὶ αὐτὸς M.

calling the troops together, he administered some rebukes and some admonitions. He displayed no rashness nor did he withdraw, but remained quietly on the spot until Bato, despairing of victory, sent a herald to him to ask for terms. Bato was reduced to this necessity, because all but a few of his possessions had been captured, and because the force that he had was inferior to the one then opposing it; but he could not persuade the rest to ask for a truce, and so abandoned them, nor did he again go to the aid of anyone else, though he received many requests for aid. Tiberius, accordingly, conceived a contempt for those still left in the fortress; and thinking that he could conquer them without serious loss, paid no further heed to the terrain, but advanced straight against the stronghold. And since there was no level ground and the enemy would not come down against them, he himself took his seat on a platform in full view of all, in order not only to watch the struggle,—since this would cause his men to fight more zealously,—but also to be able to render opportune assistance, should there be any need of it. In fact, he was holding a part of the army in reserve for this very purpose, inasmuch as he was vastly superior to the foe in point of numbers. The rest, drawn up in a dense square, at first proceeded at a walk; but later they were separated by the steepness and unevenness of the mountain, which was full of gullies and at many points was cut up into ravines, so that some ascended more rapidly and others more slowly. A.D. 9

The Dalmatians, when they observed this, arrayed themselves outside their wall, at the top of the steep, and hurled down quantities of stones upon them,

ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔβαλλον τοὺς δὲ καὶ κατεκυλίνδουν. ἄλλοι τροχούς, ἄλλοι ἁμάξας ὅλας πλήρεις πετρῶν, ἄλλοι κιβωτοὺς περιφερεῖς, ἐπιχωρίως πως
2 πεποιημένας καὶ λίθων γεμούσας, ἠφίεσαν. καὶ ταῦτά τε[1] πάντα ἅμα πολλῇ ῥύμῃ καταφερόμενα διεσφενδονᾶτο, καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διέσπα τε ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ συνηλόα·[2] καὶ ἕτεροι, οἱ μὲν βέλη οἱ δὲ δοράτια ἀφιέντες,[3] συ-
3 χνοὺς αὐτῶν κατέβαλλον. κἂν τούτῳ πολλὴ μὲν τῶν μαχομένων φιλοτιμία ἐγίγνετο, τῶν μὲν ἀναβῆναί τε καὶ ἐπικρατῆσαι τῶν[4] ἄκρων, τῶν δὲ ἀποκρούσασθαί τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπαράξαι[5] πειρωμένων, πολλὴ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τε ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ὁρώντων τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν
4 Τιβέριον ὄντων. τοῖς τε γὰρ σφετέροις ἑκάτεροι παρεκελεύοντο, τοὺς μὲν προθυμουμένους σφῶν ἐπιρρωννύντες, τοῖς δ' ὑπείκουσί πῃ ἐπιτιμῶντες, καὶ ἀθρόοι καὶ καθ' ἑκάστους· καὶ ὅσοι ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐγεγώνισκον, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἅμα ἀνεκάλουν, ὑπέρ τε τῆς αὐτίκα τῶν μαχομένων ἀμφότεροι σωτηρίας καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα οἱ μὲν ἐλευθερίας οἱ δὲ εἰρήνης ἐπιβοώ-
5 μενοι. κἂν παντελῶς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μάτην ἐκινδύνευσαν, ἅτε πρὸς δύο ἅμα, τήν τε τῶν τόπων φύσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἀντίταξιν, τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιούμενοι, εἰ μὴ ὁ Τιβέριος ἐκείνους τε ἀκραιφνέσι βοηθείαις φυγεῖν ἐκώλυσε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἑτέρων, ηωῆι ἀνίτητον ἐς τὸ χωρίον

[1] τε Pflugk, γε M.
[2] συνηλόα Rk., συνήλου M.
[3] ἀφιέντες R. Steph., ἐφιέντες M.
[4] τῶν R. Steph., τῆς τῶν M.

throwing some from slings and rolling down others. A.D. 9 Some let loose wheels, others whole waggons full of rocks, and still others circular chests constructed in a fashion peculiar to that country and packed full of stones. All these objects rushing down at once with great impetus kept striking here and there, as if discharged from a sling, separating the Romans from one another even more than before and crushing them. Others of the enemy were striking many of them down with the missiles and spears that they hurled. Meanwhile there was great rivalry on the part of the combatants, as the one side endeavoured to ascend and conquer the heights, the other to repulse them and hurl them back; and there was great rivalry also on the part of the others, both those who were watching the action from the walls and those with Tiberius. Each side, both individually and collectively, was encouraging its own men, trying to hearten those who showed zeal and chiding those who gave way at any point. Those whose voices could be heard above the rest were also invoking the gods at the same time, both sides praying for the safety of their warriors at the moment, and one side begging for its freedom, the other for peace, in the future. The Romans would certainly have risked their lives all to no purpose, being obliged, as they were, to contend against two difficulties at once,—the nature of the country and the lines of their opponents,—had not Tiberius by repeated reinforcements prevented them from taking to flight, and at the same time thrown the enemy into confusion by sending a detachment of soldiers around

[6] ἀπαράξαι Bs., ἀπορᾶξαι M.

ἐκ πλείονος περιελθοῦσιν ἣν περιπέμψει ἐτάραξε.[1]
6 κἀκ τούτου οἱ μὲν τραπέντες οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος
ἐσελθεῖν ἠδυνήθησαν, ἀλλὰ ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη, προ-
απορρίψαντες τὰ ὅπλα ὥστε κουφίζειν, ἐσκεδά-
σθησαν· οἱ δὲ ἐπιδιώκοντές σφας (πάνυ τε γὰρ
διαπολεμῆσαι ἐγλίχοντο, καὶ οὐκ ἐβούλοντο συ-
στραφέντας αὖθις αὐτοὺς χαλεπούς σφισι γενέ-
7 σθαι) ἐπίπαν ἐπεξῆλθον, καὶ ἐκείνων τε τοὺς
πλείους ἐν ταῖς ὕλαις κρυπτομένους ἀνευρόντες
ὥσπερ θηρία ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ
τοὺς ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ προσχωρήσαντας ἔλα-
βον.

Καὶ τούτοις μὲν ὁ Τιβέριος τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δὴ
15 καὶ τὰ ὁμολογηθέντα σφίσι καθίστατο, Γερ-
μανικὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθεστηκότας ἔτ' ἐτράπετο·[2]
αὐτόμολοι γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς συχνοὶ ὄντες οὐκ εἴων
σφᾶς συμβῆναι. καὶ ἐδουλώσατο μὲν χωρίον τι
Ἄρδουβαν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τῇ οἰκείᾳ δυνάμει, καίτοι
πολὺ πλείονι τῶν ἐναντίων οὔσῃ, ἠδυνήθη τοῦτο
ποιῆσαι· αὐτό τε γὰρ ἰσχυρῶς ὠχύρωτο, καὶ
ποταμὸς ῥοώδης τοὺς πρόποδας αὐτοῦ κύκλῳ
2 πλὴν βραχέος περιρρεῖ· ἀλλ' οἱ αὐτόμολοι στα-
σιάσαντες πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἐπειδὴ τῶν
σπονδῶν ὠρέγοντο, ἐς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ἦλθον, καὶ
συλλαβομένων σφίσι τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ
τείχει οὐσῶν (τῆς τε γὰρ ἐλευθερίας καὶ παρὰ
τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν γνώμην ἐφίεντο, καὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν
πρὸ τοῦ δουλεῦσαι παθεῖν ᾑροῦντο) μάχῃ τε

[1] ἑτέρων . . . ἐτάραξε a corrupt passage in M. L′ has ἑτέρωθεν ἄλλοις στρατιώταις ἐς τὸ ἄναντες τοῦ χωρίου ἐκ πλείονος περιελθοῦσι ἐτάραξε, an obvious paraphrase. Polak proposes ἑτέρων, ὅπῃ ἀνίτητον ἐς τὸ χωρίον ἐκ πλείονος περιελθοῦσιν ἣν,

to a point where by a wide circuit the place could be ascended. As a result, the enemy were routed and could not even get into the fortress, but were scattered up and down the mountain sides, first having cast aside their armour, so as to be unencumbered by its weight. Their pursuers followed them at every point, for they were very eager to end the war once for all, and did not want the foe to unite again and cause them further trouble. They discovered most of them hiding in the forests and slew them as they would so many wild beasts, after which they took over the men in the fort, who had capitulated. A.D. 9

Tiberius was now engaged in arranging the affairs of the enemies who had surrendered, and in carrying out the terms of their capitulation; but Germanicus turned his attention to those who still offered resistance, for many deserters who were with them prevented them from making terms. He succeeded in subjugating a place called Arduba, but could not accomplish it with his own force, though this was far greater than his opponents' army. For the place itself had been strongly fortified and a river with a swift current flows all around its base except for a short distance. But the deserters fell into a dispute with the inhabitants, because the latter were anxious for peace, and came to blows with them. They were assisted by the women in the fort, for these, contrary to the decision of the men, craved liberty and were ready to suffer any fate whatever rather than servitude. Accordingly a fierce struggle ensued, and the

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ἐπιπέμψει ἐτάραξε, which with two slight changes (omitting ἐς and reading περιπέμψει) seems very plausible.

[2] ἔτ' ἐτράπετο Bs., ἐτετράπετο M.

ἰσχυρὰ ἐγένετο, καὶ κρατηθέντες αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐνέ-
3 δοσαν, καί τινες αὐτῶν καὶ διέφυγον, αἱ δὲ δὴ
γυναῖκες τὰ παιδία ἁρπάσασαι αἱ μὲν ἐς πῦρ
ἑαυτὰς ἐνέβαλον, αἱ δὲ ἐς ποταμὸν κατεκρήμνισαν.
καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἐκείνου τοῦ φρουρίου ἁλόντος, καὶ
τἆλλα τὰ πλησία αὐτῷ ἐθελοντὶ τῷ Γερμανικῷ
ὡμολόγησεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα πράξας πρὸς τὸν
Τιβέριον ἀνεχώρησεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Ποστούμιος τὰ
16 λοιπὰ προσκατειργάσατο. κἀν τούτῳ καὶ ὁ
Βάτων, Σκευᾶν τὸν υἱὸν πρὸς Τιβέριον πέμψας,
παραδώσειν οἱ καὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ
2 πάντας ὑπέσχετο, ἂν τῆς ἀδείας τύχῃ. καὶ μετὰ
τοῦτο πίστιν λαβὼν νυκτός τε ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον
αὐτοῦ ἐσῆλθε, καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπὶ βήματος αὐτῷ
καθημένῳ προσαχθεὶς ὑπὲρ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ οὐδὲν
ἐδεήθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν προέτεινεν ὥστ᾽
ἀποκοπῆναι, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πολλὰ ἀπελογή-
3 σατο. καὶ τέλος ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου "τί
ὑμῖν ἔδοξε καὶ ἀποστῆναι καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἡμῖν
χρόνον ἀντιπολεμῆσαι;" ἔφη ὅτι "ὑμεῖς τούτων
αἴτιοί ἐστε· ἐπὶ γὰρ τὰς ἀγέλας ὑμῶν φύλακας
οὐ κύνας οὐδὲ νομέας ἀλλὰ λύκους πέμπετε."
4 Ὁ μὲν οὖν πόλεμος τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἔσχε,
πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἀνδρῶν, πλείστων δὲ δὴ καὶ
χρημάτων ἀπολομένων· πάμπολλά τε γὰρ ἐς
αὐτὸν στρατόπεδα ἐτράφη καὶ λεία ἐλαχίστη
17 ἑάλω. ἀνήγγειλε δὲ καὶ τότε τὴν νίκην ὁ Γερ-
μανικός, καὶ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ τῷ μὲν Αὐγούστῳ καὶ
τῷ Τιβερίῳ τό τε τὸ[1] τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα
προσθέσθαι καὶ τὸ τὰ ἐπινίκια πέμψαι, ἄλλαι

[1] τὸ supplied by Bk.

deserters were worsted and surrendered, though some of them made their escape; but the women, catching up their children, either threw themselves into the flames or hurled themselves into the river below. Thus that fort also was taken, whereupon the other places in its vicinity voluntarily made terms with Germanicus; and he, after accomplishing this much, rejoined Tiberius, leaving Postumius[1] to complete the subjugation of the remaining districts. In the meantime Bato sent his son Sceuas to Tiberius, promising to surrender both himself and all his followers if he obtained pardon. And when he later received a pledge, he came by night to Tiberius' camp and on the following day was led before him as he sat on a tribunal. Bato asked nothing for himself, even holding his head forward to await the stroke, but in behalf of the others he made a long defence. Finally, upon being asked by Tiberius why his people had taken it into their heads to revolt and to war against the Romans so long, he replied: "You Romans are to blame for this; for you send as guardians of your flocks, not dogs or shepherds, but wolves." A.D. 9

In this way the war was ended after the loss of many men and immense treasure; for ever so many legions were maintained for this campaign and but very little booty was taken. On this occasion, also, Germanicus announced the victory; and because of it Augustus and Tiberius were permitted to add the title of *imperator* to their other titles and to celebrate a triumph, and they received other honours, besides,

[1] C. Vibius Postumus is doubtless the person meant.

τέ τινες τιμαὶ καὶ ἀψῖδες[1] ἐν τῇ Παννονίᾳ τρο-
2 παιοφόροι δύο ἐδόθησαν (ταῦτα γὰρ ἀπὸ πολλῶν τῶν ψηφισθέντων σφίσιν ὁ Αὔγουστος ἐδέξατο), τῷ δὲ δὴ Γερμανικῷ αἵ τε νικητήριοι τιμαί, ὅπερ που καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατιάρχοις ὑπῆρξε, καὶ αἱ στρατηγικαί, τό τε τὴν γνώμην πρώτῳ μετὰ τοὺς ὑπατευκότας ἀποφαίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ τὴν ὑπατείαν θᾶσσον παρὰ τὸ νενομισμένον λαβεῖν.
3 καὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ δὲ τῷ τοῦ Τιβερίου υἱεῖ, καίτοι μὴ μετασχόντι τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον συμφοιτᾶν πρὶν βουλεῦσαι, καὶ ἐπειδὰν ταμιεύσῃ γνώμην πρὸ[2] τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων ποιεῖσθαι, ἐψηφίσθη.

18 Ἄρτι τε ταῦτα ἐδέδοκτο, καὶ ἀγγελία δεινὴ ἐκ τῆς Γερμανίας ἐλθοῦσα ἐκώλυσέ σφας διεορτάσαι. ἐν γὰρ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ τάδε συνηνέχθη. εἶχόν τινα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι αὐτῆς, οὐκ ἀθρόα ἀλλ' ὥς που καὶ ἔτυχε χειρω-
2 θέντα, διὸ οὐδὲ ἐς ἱστορίας μνήμην ἀφίκετο· καὶ στρατιῶταί τε αὐτῶν ἐκεῖ ἐχείμαζον καὶ πόλεις συνῳκίζοντο, ἔς τε τὸν κόσμον σφῶν οἱ βάρβαροι μετερρυθμίζοντο καὶ ἀγορὰς ἐνόμιζον συνόδους τε εἰρηνικὰς ἐποιοῦντο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τῶν πατρίων ἠθῶν τῶν τε συμφύτων τρόπων καὶ τῆς αὐτονόμου διαίτης τῆς τε ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων ἐξουσίας ἐκλελησ-
3 μένοι ἦσαν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, τέως μὲν κατὰ βραχὺ καὶ ὁδῷ τινι μετὰ φυλακῆς μετεμάνθανον αὐτά,

[1] ἀψῖδες early correction in margin of M, ἀσπίδες M.
[2] πρὸ R. Steph., παρὰ M (corr. to προς in marg.).

notably two triumphal arches in Pannonia; for these were the only distinctions of the many voted to them that Augustus would accept. Germanicus received the *ornamenta triumphalia*, a distinction which fell likewise to the other commanders, and also the rank of a praetor, as well as the privilege of giving his vote immediately after the ex-consuls and of holding the consulship earlier than custom allowed. To Drusus, also, the son of Tiberius, even though he had taken no part in the war, was granted the privilege of attending the sittings of the senate before becoming a member of that body and of voting ahead of the ex-praetors as soon as he should become quaestor. A.D. 9

Scarcely had these decrees been passed, when terrible news that arrived from the province of Germany[1] prevented them from holding the festival. I shall now relate the events which had taken place in Germany during this period. The Romans were holding portions of it—not entire regions, but merely such districts as happened to have been subdued, so that no record has been made of the fact—and soldiers of theirs were wintering there and cities were being founded. The barbarians were adapting themselves to Roman ways, were becoming accustomed to hold markets, and were meeting in peaceful assemblages. They had not, however, forgotten their ancestral habits, their native manners, their old life of independence, or the power derived from arms. Hence, so long as they were unlearning these customs gradually and by the way, as one may say, under careful watching, they were not disturbed by

[1] Γερμανία is Dio's word for the Roman province (or provinces) of Germany, Κελτική for Germany proper.

οὔτε ἐβαρύνοντο τῇ τοῦ βίου μεταβολῇ καὶ
ἐλάνθανόν σφας ἀλλοιούμενοι· ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Οὐᾶρος
ὁ Κυιντίλιος τήν τε ἡγεμονίαν τῆς Γερμανίας
λαβὼν καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνοις ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς διοικῶν
ἔσπευσεν αὐτοὺς ἀθροώτερον μεταστῆσαι, καὶ τά
τε ἄλλα ὡς καὶ δουλεύουσί σφισιν ἐπέταττε καὶ
4 χρήματα ὡς καὶ παρ' ὑπηκόων ἐσέπρασσεν, οὐκ
ἠνέσχοντο, ἀλλ' οἵ τε πρῶτοι τῆς πρόσθεν δυ-
ναστείας ἐφιέμενοι, καὶ τὰ πλήθη τὴν συνήθη
κατάστασιν πρὸ τῆς ἀλλοφύλου δεσποτείας προ-
τιμῶντες, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ φανεροῦ οὐκ ἀπέστησαν,
πολλοὺς μὲν πρὸς τῷ Ῥήνῳ πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐν
5 τῇ σφετέρᾳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁρῶντες ὄντας, δεξάμενοι
δὲ τὸν Οὐᾶρον ὡς καὶ πάντα τὰ προστασσόμενά
σφισι ποιήσοντες προήγαγον αὐτὸν πόρρω ἀπὸ
τοῦ Ῥήνου ἔς τε τὴν Χερουσκίδα καὶ πρὸς τὸν
Οὐίσουργον,[1] κἀνταῦθα εἰρηνικώτατά τε καὶ
φιλικώτατα διαγαγόντες πίστιν αὐτῷ παρέσχον
ὡς καὶ ἄνευ στρατιωτῶν δουλεύειν δυνάμενοι.
19 Οὔτ' οὖν τὰ στρατεύματα, ὥσπερ εἰκος ἦν ἐν
πολεμίᾳ, συνεῖχε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν συχνοὺς αἰτοῦσι
τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ φυλακῇ χωρίων τινῶν
ἢ καὶ λῃστῶν συλλήψεσι παραπομπαῖς τέ τισι
2 τῶν ἐπιτηδείων διέδωκεν. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ μάλιστα
συνομόσαντες καὶ ἀρχηγοὶ τῆς τε ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ
τοῦ πολέμου γενόμενοι ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀρμήνιος
καὶ Σηγίμερος, συνόντες τε αὐτῷ ἀεὶ καὶ συνε-
3 στιώμενοι πολλάκις. θαρσοῦντος οὖν αὐτοῦ, καὶ
μήτε τι δεινὸν προσδεχομένου, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τό
τε[2] γιγνόμενον ὑποτοποῦσι καὶ φυλάττεσθαί οἱ

[1] Οὐίσουργον Xyl., οὐεισουγ^γρον M.
[2] τό τε Xyl., τὸ τότε M.

the change in their manner of life, and were becoming different without knowing it. But when Quintilius Varus became governor of the province of Germany,[1] and in the discharge of his official duties was administering the affairs of these peoples also, he strove to change them more rapidly. Besides issuing orders to them as if they were actually slaves of the Romans, he exacted money as he would from subject nations. To this they were in no mood to submit, for the leaders longed for their former ascendancy and the masses preferred their accustomed condition to foreign domination. Now they did not openly revolt, since they saw that there were many Roman troops near the Rhine and many within their own borders; instead, they received Varus, pretending that they would do all he demanded of them, and thus they drew him far away from the Rhine into the land of the Cherusci, toward the Visurgis,[2] and there by behaving in a most peaceful and friendly manner led him to believe that they would live submissively without the presence of soldiers. A.D. 9

Consequently he did not keep his legions together, as was proper in a hostile country, but distributed many of the soldiers to helpless communities, which asked for them for the alleged purpose of guarding various points, arresting robbers, or escorting provision trains. Among those deepest in the conspiracy and leaders of the plot and of the war were Armenius and Segimerus, who were his constant companions and often shared his mess. He accordingly became confident, and expecting no harm, not only refused to believe all those who suspected what was going on and advised him to be on his guard,

[1] See note on p. 39. [2] The Weser.

παραινοῦσιν οὐχ ὅπως ἀπιστοῦντος ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἐπιτιμῶντος ὡς μάτην αὐτοῖς τε ταραττομένοις
καὶ ἐκείνους διαβάλλουσιν, ἐπανίστανταί τινες
πρῶτοι τῶν ἄπωθεν αὐτοῦ οἰκούντων ἐκ παρα-
4 σκευῆς, ὅπως ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὁ Οὐᾶρος ὁρμήσας εὐα-
λωτότερός σφισιν ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ, ὡς καὶ διὰ φιλίας
διιών, γένηται, μηδὲ ἐξαίφνης πάντων ἅμα
πολεμωθέντων αὐτῷ φυλακήν τινα ἑαυτοῦ ποιή-
σηται. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως· προέπεμψάν τε γὰρ
αὐτὸν ἐξορμῶντα, καὶ παρέμενοι ὡς καὶ τὰ
συμμαχικὰ παρασκευάσοντες καὶ διὰ ταχέων οἱ
5 προσβοηθήσοντες τάς τε δυνάμεις ἐν ἑτοίμῳ που
οὔσας παρέλαβον, καὶ ἀποκτείναντες τοὺς παρὰ
σφίσιν ἕκαστοι στρατιώτας, οὓς πρότερον ᾐτή-
κεσαν, ἐπῆλθον αὐτῷ ἐν ὕλαις ἤδη δυσεκβάτοις
ὄντι. κἀνταῦθα ἅμα τε ἀνεφάνησαν πολέμιοι
ἀνθ' ὑπηκόων ὄντες, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ εἰργά-
σαντο.

20 Τά τε γὰρ ὄρη καὶ φαραγγώδη καὶ ἀνώμαλα
καὶ τὰ δένδρα καὶ πυκνὰ καὶ ὑπερμήκη ἦν, ὥστε
τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, καὶ πρὶν τοὺς πολεμίους σφίσι
προσπεσεῖν, ἐκεῖνά τε τέμνοντας καὶ ὁδοποιοῦντας
γεφυροῦντάς τε τὰ τούτου δεόμενα πονηθῆναι.
2 ἦγον δὲ καὶ ἁμάξας πολλὰς καὶ νωτοφόρα πολλὰ
ὡς ἐν εἰρήνῃ· παῖδές τε οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ γυναῖκες
ἥ τε ἄλλη θεραπεία συχνὴ αὐτοῖς συνείπετο,
ὥστε καὶ κατὰ τοῦτ' ἐσκεδασμένῃ τῇ ὁδοιπορίᾳ
3 χρῆσθαι. κἀν τούτῳ καὶ ὑετὸς καὶ ἄνεμος πολὺς
ἐπιγενόμενοι ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλόν σφας διέσπειραν·
τό τε ἔδαφος ὀλισθηρὸν περί τε ταῖς ῥίζαις καὶ
περὶ τοῖς στελέχεσι γενόμενον σφαλερώτατα

but actually rebuked them for being needlessly excited and slandering his friends. Then there came an uprising, first on the part of those who lived at a distance from him, deliberately so arranged, in order that Varus should march against them and so be more easily overpowered while proceeding through what was supposed to be friendly country, instead of putting himself on his guard as he would do in case all became hostile to him at once. And so it came to pass. They escorted him as he set out, and then begged to be excused from further attendance, in order, as they claimed, to assemble their allied forces, after which they would quickly come to his aid. Then they took charge of their troops, which were already in waiting somewhere, and after the men in each community had put to death the detachments of soldiers for which they had previously asked, they came upon Varus in the midst of forests by this time almost impenetrable. And there, at the very moment of revealing themselves as enemies instead of subjects, they wrought great and dire havoc. A.D. 9

The mountains had an uneven surface broken by ravines, and the trees grew close together and very high. Hence the Romans, even before the enemy assailed them, were having a hard time of it felling trees, building roads, and bridging places that required it. They had with them many waggons and many beasts of burden as in time of peace; moreover, not a few women and children and a large retinue of servants were following them—one more reason for their advancing in scattered groups. Meanwhile a violent rain and wind came up that separated them still further, while the ground, that had become slippery around the roots and logs, made

αὐτοὺς βαδίζειν ἐποίει, καὶ τὰ ἄκρα τῶν δένδρων καταθραυόμενα καὶ καταπίπτοντα διετάρασσεν.
4 ἐν τοιαύτῃ οὖν δή τινι ἀμηχανίᾳ τότε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὄντων, οἱ βάρβαροι πανταχόθεν ἅμα αὐτοὺς ἐξαπιναίως δι᾽ αὐτῶν τῶν λοχμωδεστάτων, ἅτε καὶ ἔμπειροι τῶν τριμμῶν ὄντες, περιεστοιχίσαντο, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πόρρωθεν ἔβαλλον, ἔπειτα δέ, ὡς ἠμύνετο μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐτιτρώσκοντο
5 δὲ πολλοί, ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς ἐχώρησαν· οἷα γὰρ οὔτε ἐν τάξει τινὶ ἀλλὰ ἀναμὶξ ταῖς τε ἁμάξαις καὶ τοῖς ἀόπλοις πορευόμενοι, οὔτε συστραφῆναί πῃ ῥᾳδίως δυνάμενοι, ἐλάττους τε καθ᾽ ἑκάστους τῶν ἀεὶ προσμιγνύντων σφίσιν ὄντες, ἔπασχον μὲν πολλά, ἀντέδρων δὲ οὐδέν.

21 Αὐτοῦ τε οὖν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, χωρίου τινὸς ἐπιτηδείου, ὥς γε ἐν ὄρει ὑλώδει ἐνεδέχετο, λαβόμενοι, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τάς τε πλείους ἁμάξας καὶ τἆλλα τὰ μὴ πάνυ σφίσιν ἀναγκαῖα τὰ μὲν κατακαύσαντες τὰ δὲ καὶ καταλιπόντες, συντεταγμένοι μέν πῃ μᾶλλον τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπορεύθησαν, ὥστε καὶ ἐς ψιλόν τι χωρίον προχωρῆσαι,
2 οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀναιμωτὶ ἀπήλλαξαν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἄραντες ἔς τε ὕλας αὖθις ἐσέπεσον, καὶ ἠμύνοντο μὲν πρὸς τοὺς προσπίπτοντάς σφισιν, οὐκ ἐλάχιστα δὲ δὴ κατ᾽ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔπταιον· συστρεφόμενοι γὰρ ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ, ὅπως ἀθρόοι ἱππῆς τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ὁπλῖται ἐπιτρέχωσιν αὐτοῖς, πολλὰ μὲν περὶ ἀλλήλοις πολλὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῖς δέν-
3 δροις ἐσφάλλοντο. τετάρτῃ τε ἡμέρᾳ[1] πορευο-

walking very treacherous for them, and the tops of the trees kept breaking off and falling down, causing much confusion. While the Romans were in such difficulties, the barbarians suddenly surrounded them on all sides at once, coming through the densest thickets, as they were acquainted with the paths. At first they hurled their volleys from a distance; then, as no one defended himself and many were wounded, they approached closer to them. For the Romans were not proceeding in any regular order, but were mixed in helter-skelter with the waggons and the unarmed, and so, being unable to form readily anywhere in a body, and being fewer at every point than their assailants, they suffered greatly and could offer no resistance at all. A.D. 9

Accordingly they encamped on the spot, after securing a suitable place, so far as that was possible on a wooded mountain; and afterwards they either burned or abandoned most of their waggons and everything else that was not absolutely necessary to them. The next day they advanced in a little better order, and even reached open country, though they did not get off without loss. Upon setting out from there they plunged into the woods again, where they defended themselves against their assailants, but suffered their heaviest losses while doing so. For since they had to form their lines in a narrow space, in order that the cavalry and infantry together might run down the enemy, they collided frequently with one another and with the trees. They were still

[1] τετάρτῃ τε ἡμέρᾳ Dind., τότε γὰρ ʽτῆι᾿ ʽτε᾿ ἡμέραι M (the signs about τῆι and τε probably by early corrector who wished to delete these words).

μένοις σφίσιν ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτοῖς ὑετός τε αὖθις λάβρος καὶ ἄνεμος μέγας προσπεσὼν οὔτε ποι προϊέναι οὔθ' ἵστασθαι παγίως ἐπέτρεπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χρῆσίν σφας τῶν ὅπλων ἀφείλετο· οὔτε γὰρ τοῖς τοξεύμασιν οὔτε τοῖς ἀκοντίοις, ἣ ταῖς γε ἀσπίσιν ἅτε καὶ διαβρόχοις οὔσαις, καλῶς
4 χρῆσθαι ἐδύναντο. τοῖς γὰρ πολεμίοις, ψιλοῖς τε τὸ πλεῖστον οὖσι καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ τῆς ἐφόδου καὶ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως ἀδεᾶ ἔχουσιν, ἧττόν που ταῦτα συνέβαινε. πρὸς δ' ἔτι αὐτοί τε πολὺ πλείους γεγονότες (καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρότερον περισκοπούντων συχνοὶ ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ λείᾳ συνῆλθον) καὶ ἐκείνους ἐλάττους ἤδη ὄντας (πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πρὶν μάχαις ἀπωλώλεσαν)
5 καὶ ἐκυκλοῦντο ῥᾷον καὶ κατεφόνευον, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Οὐᾶρον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς λογιμωτάτους, φοβηθέντας μὴ ἤτοι ζωγρηθῶσιν ἢ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐχθίστων ἀποθάνωσι (καὶ γὰρ τετρωμένοι ἦσαν), ἔργον δεινὸν μὲν ἀναγκαῖον δὲ τολμῆσαι· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς ἀπέκτειναν.

22 Ὡς δὲ τοῦτο διηγγέλθη, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδεὶς ἔτι, εἰ καὶ ἔρρωτό τις, ἠμύνατο, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τὸν ἄρχοντά σφων ἐμιμήσαντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα παρέντες ἐπέτρεπόν σφας τῷ βουλομένῳ φονεύειν· φυγεῖν γὰρ οὐδ' εἰ τὰ μάλιστά τις ἤθελεν ἐδύνατο.
2 ἐκόπτετό τε οὖν ἀδεῶς πᾶς καὶ ἀνὴρ καὶ ἵππος, καὶ τά τε[1] . . .

2[a] Καὶ τὰ ἐρύματα πάντα κατέσχον οἱ βάρβαροι ἄτερ ἑνός, περὶ ὃ ἀσχοληθέντες οὔτε τὸν Ῥῆνον

[1] After τε a folium is lost from M, which resumes with τὸ μὲν πρῶτον. The missing portion is in part supplied by Zonaras.

advancing when the fourth day dawned, and again a heavy downpour and violent wind assailed them, preventing them from going forward and even from standing securely, and moreover depriving them of the use of their weapons. For they could not handle their bows or their javelins with any success, nor, for that matter, their shields, which were thoroughly soaked. Their opponents, on the other hand, being for the most part lightly equipped, and able to approach and retire freely, suffered less from the storm. Furthermore, the enemy's forces had greatly increased, as many of those who had at first wavered now joined them, largely in the hope of plunder, and thus they could more easily encircle and strike down the Romans, whose ranks were now thinned, many having perished in the earlier fighting. Varus, therefore, and all the more prominent officers, fearing that they should either be captured alive or be killed by their bitterest foes (for they had already been wounded), made bold to do a thing that was terrible yet unavoidable: they took their own lives. A.D. 9

When news of this had spread, none of the rest, even if he had any strength left, defended himself any longer. Some imitated their leader, and others, casting aside their arms, allowed anybody who pleased to slay them; for to flee was impossible, however much one might desire to do so. Every man, therefore, and every horse was cut down without any fear of resistance, and the . . .

And the barbarians occupied all the strongholds save one, their delay at which prevented them

διέβησαν οὔτ' ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν εἰσέβαλον. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο χειρώσασθαι ἠδυνήθησαν, ἐπεὶ μήτε πολιορκεῖν ἠπίσταντο καὶ τοξόταις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι συχνοῖς ἐχρῶντο, ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἀνεκόπτοντο καὶ πλεῖστοι ἀπώλλυντο.—Zon. 10, 37 (p. 452, 12—17 Dind.).

2[b] Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πυθόμενοι φυλακὴν τοῦ Ῥήνου τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ποιήσασθαι καὶ τὸν Τιβέριον σὺν βαρεῖ προσελαύνειν στρατεύματι, οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἀπανέστησαν τοῦ ἐρύματος, οἱ δ' ὑπολειφθέντες ἀποστάντες αὐτοῦ, ὥστε μὴ αἰφνιδίοις ἐπεξελεύσεσι τῶν ἐντὸς κακοῦσθαι, τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐτήρουν, σπάνει σιτίων αἱρήσειν ἠλπικότες αὐτούς. οἱ δ' ἐντὸς ὄντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἕως μὲν εὐπόρουν τροφῆς, κατὰ χώραν ἔμενον βοήθειαν προσδεχόμενοι· ὡς δ' οὔτε τις ἐπεκούρει αὐτοῖς καὶ λιμῷ συνείχοντο, ἐξῆλθον νύκτα τηρήσαντες χειμέριον (ἦσαν δὲ στρατιῶται μὲν ὀλίγοι, ἄοπλοι δὲ πολλοί), καὶ
2 [Zon. 10, 37, p. 452, 18–29 D.] τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τό τε δεύτερόν σφων φυλακτήριον παρῆλθον, ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τῷ τρίτῳ ἐγένοντο, ἐφωράθησαν, τῶν τε γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν παίδων συνεχῶς τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ διά τε τὸν κάματον καὶ διὰ τὸν φόβον τό
3 τε σκότος καὶ τὸ ψῦχος ἀνακαλούντων. κἂν πάντες ἀπώλοντο ἢ καὶ ἑάλωσαν, εἰ μὴ οἱ βάρβαροι περὶ τὴν τῆς λείας ἁρπαγὴν ἄσχολοι ἐγένοντο. οὕτω γὰρ οἵ τε ἐρρωμενέστατοι πολὺ ἀπέσπασαν, καὶ οἱ σαλπικταὶ[1] οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς ὄντες τροχαῖόν τι συμβοήσαντες δόξαν τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὡς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀσπρήνου πεπεμμένοι παρέ-

[1] σαλπικταὶ Dind., σαλπιγκταὶ M.

from either crossing the Rhine or invading Gaul. A.D. 9
Yet they found themselves unable to reduce this fort, because they did not understand the conduct of sieges, and because the Romans employed numerous archers, who repeatedly repulsed them and destroyed large numbers of them.

Later they learned that the Romans had posted a guard at the Rhine, and that Tiberius was approaching with an imposing army. Therefore most of the barbarians retired from the fort, and even the detachment still left there withdrew to a considerable distance, so as not to be injured by sudden sallies on the part of the garrison, and then kept watch of the roads, hoping to capture the garrison through the failure of their provisions. The Romans inside, so long as they had plenty of food, remained where they were, awaiting relief; but when no one came to their assistance and they were also hard pressed by hunger, they waited merely for a stormy night and then stole forth. Now the soldiers were but few, the unarmed many. They succeeded in getting past the foe's first and second outposts, but when they reached the third, they were discovered, for the women and children, by reason of their fatigue and fear as well as on account of the darkness and cold, kept calling to the warriors to come back. And they would all have perished or been captured, had the barbarians not been occupied in seizing the plunder. This afforded an opportunity for the most hardy to get some distance away, and the trumpeters with them by sounding the signal for a double-quick march caused the enemy to think that they had been sent by Asprenas. Therefore the foe ceased

4 σχον. κἀκ τούτου ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐπέσχον τῆς διώξεως, καὶ ὁ Ἀσπρήνας μαθὼν τὸ γιγνόμενον ὄντως σφίσιν ἐπεκούρησε. καί τινες μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν ἑαλωκότων ἀνεκομίσθησαν, λυτρωθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων· ἐπετράπη γάρ σφισι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ἐφ' ᾧ τε ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας αὐτοὺς εἶναι.

23 Τοῦτο μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο· τότε δὲ μαθὼν ὁ Αὔγουστος τὰ τῷ Οὐάρῳ συμβεβηκότα τήν τε ἐσθῆτα, ὥς τινές φασι, περιερρήξατο, καὶ πένθος μέγα ἐπί τε τοῖς ἀπολωλόσι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ περί τε τῶν Γερμανιῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν Γαλατιῶν δέει ἐποιήσατο, τό τε μέγιστον ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τήν τε Ῥώμην αὐτὴν ὁρμήσειν σφᾶς προσεδόκησε, καὶ οὔτε πολιτική οἱ ἡλικία ἀξιόλογος ὑπελέλειπτο, καὶ τὰ συμμαχικά, ὧν τι καὶ
2 ὄφελος ἦν, ἐκεκάκωτο. ὅμως δ' οὖν τά τε ἄλλα ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων παρεσκευάσατο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς τῶν τὴν στρατεύσιμον ἡλικίαν ἐχόντων καταλεχθῆναι ἠθέλησεν, ἐκλήρωσεν αὐτούς, καὶ τῶν μὲν μηδέπω πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων τὸν πέμπτον, τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων τὸν δέκατον ἀεὶ λαχόντα τήν τε οὐσίαν ἀφείλετο καὶ
3 ἠτίμωσε. καὶ τέλος, ὡς καὶ πάνυ πολλοὶ οὐδ' οὕτω τι αὐτοῦ προετίμων, ἀπέκτεινέ τινας. ἀποκληρώσας δὲ ἔκ τε τῶν ἐστρατευμένων ἤδη καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων ὅσους ἠδυνήθη, κατέλεξε, καὶ εὐθὺς σπουδῇ μετὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐς τὴν Γερμανίαν
4 ἔπεμψεν. ἐπειδή τε συχνοὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ Γαλάται καὶ Κελτοί, οἱ μὲν ἄλλως ἐπιδημοῦντες οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ δορυφορικῷ στρατευόμενοι, ἦσαν, ἐφοβήθη μή τι νεοχμώσωσι, καὶ τούτους μὲν ἐς

his pursuit, and Asprenas, upon learning what was taking place, actually did render them assistance. Some of the prisoners were afterwards ransomed by their relatives and returned from captivity; for this was permitted on condition that the men ransomed should remain outside of Italy. This, however, occurred later. A.D. 9

Augustus, when he learned of the disaster to Varus, rent his garments, as some report, and mourned greatly, not only because of the soldiers who had been lost, but also because of his fear for the German and Gallic provinces, and particularly because he expected that the enemy would march against Italy and against Rome itself. For there were no citizens of military age left worth mentioning, and the allied forces that were of any value had suffered severely. Nevertheless, he made preparations as best he could in view of the circumstances; and when no men of military age showed a willingness to be enrolled, he made them draw lots, depriving of his property and disfranchising every fifth man of those still under thirty-five and every tenth man among those who had passed that age. Finally, as a great many paid no heed to him even then, he put some to death. He chose by lot as many as he could of those who had already completed their term of service and of the freedmen, and after enrolling them sent them in haste with Tiberius into the province of Germany. And as there were in Rome a large number of Gauls and Germans, some of them serving in the pretorian guard and others sojourning there for various reasons, he feared they might begin a rebellion; hence he sent away such as were in his

νήσους τινὰς ἀπέστειλε, τοῖς δ' ἀόπλοις ἐκχωρῆσαι τῆς πόλεως προσέταξε.

24 Τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἔπραξε, καὶ οὔτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν νομιζομένων ἐγένετο οὔθ' αἱ πανηγύρεις ἑωρτάσθησαν· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀκούσας ὅτι τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν τινες ἐσώθησαν καὶ αἱ Γερμανίαι ἐφρουρήθησαν, τό τε πολέμιον οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον ἐλθεῖν ἐτόλμησε, τῆς τε ταραχῆς ἀπηλ-
2 λάγη καὶ διαγνώμην ἐποιήσατο. τό τε γὰρ πάθος οὐκ ἄνευ δαιμονίου τινὸς ὀργῆς καὶ μέγα οὕτω καὶ ἀθρόον ἐδόκει οἱ γεγονέναι· καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τεράτων τῶν πρό τε τῆς ἥττης καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συμβάντων δεινὴν ὑποψίαν ἐς τὸ
3 θεῖον ἔσχεν. ὅ τε γὰρ τοῦ Ἄρεως ναὸς ὁ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ αὐτοῦ ὢν ἐκεραυνώθη, καὶ ἀττέλεβοι πολλοὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ ἄστυ πετόμενοι ὑπὸ χελιδόνων ἀνηλώθησαν, αἵ τε κορυφαὶ τῶν Ἄλπεων συμπεπτωκέναι τε ἐς ἀλλήλας καὶ κίονας τρεῖς πυροειδεῖς ἀνεικέναι ἔδοξαν, καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς φλεγομένῳ
4 πολλαχῇ ἐῴκει, ἀστέρες τε κομῆται συχνοὶ ἅμα κατεφαίνοντο, καὶ δόρατα ἀπ' ἄρκτου φερόμενα πρὸς τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδα προσπίπτειν ἐδόκει, μέλισσαί τε περὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς αὐτῶν κηρία ἀνέπλασσον, καὶ Νίκης τι ἄγαλμα ἔν τε τῇ Γερμανίᾳ ὂν καὶ πρὸς τὴν πολεμίαν βλέπον
5 πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν μετεστράφη· καί ποτε καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἀετοὺς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις, ὡς καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐσπεπτωκότων, μάχη καὶ ἀγωνισμὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν διὰ κενῆς ἐγένετο.

Τούτων τε οὖν ἕνεκα καὶ ὅτι καὶ . . .[1]

body-guard to certain islands and ordered those who were unarmed to leave the city. A.D. 9

This was the way he handled matters at that time; and none of the usual business was carried on nor were the festivals celebrated. Later, when he heard that some of the soldiers had been saved, that the Germanies were garrisoned, and that the enemy did not venture to come even to the Rhine, he ceased to be alarmed and paused to consider the matter. For a catastrophe so great and sudden as this, it seemed to him, could have been due to nothing else than the wrath of some divinity; moreover, by reason of the portents which occurred both before the defeat and afterwards, he was strongly inclined to suspect some superhuman agency. For the temple of Mars in the field of the same name was struck by lightning, and many locusts flew into the very city and were devoured by swallows; the peaks of the Alps seemed to collapse upon one another and to send up three columns of fire; the sky in many places seemed ablaze and numerous comets appeared at one and the same time; spears seemed to dart from the north and to fall in the direction of the Roman camps; bees formed their combs about the altars in the camps; a statue of Victory that was in the province of Germany and faced the enemy's territory turned about to face Italy; and in one instance there was a futile battle and conflict of the soldiers over the eagles in the camps, the soldiers believing that the barbarians had fallen upon them.

For these reasons, then, and also because . . .

[1] M has lost a folium at this point; it resumes with μετὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν (ch. 25).

6 Ὁ δὲ Τιβέριος διαβῆναι τὸν Ῥῆνον οὐκ ἔκρινεν,
ἀλλ' ἠτρέμιζεν ἐπιτηρῶν μὴ οἱ βάρβαροι τοῦτο
ποιήσωσιν. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐκεῖνοι διαβῆναι ἐτόλμησαν
γνόντες αὐτὸν παρόντα.—Zon. 10, 37 (p. 453,
7–10 D.).

7 Ὅτι ὁ Γερμανικὸς ἐκ πολλῶν ᾠκειοῦτο τῷ
πλήθει, καὶ ὅτι ὑπερεδίκει[1] τινῶν, οὐχ ὅπως ἐπὶ
τῶν ἄλλων δικαστῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ
Αὐγούστου. διὸ καὶ ταμίᾳ τινὶ φόνου αἰτίαν
ἔχοντι τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ συναγορεύειν μέλλοντος,[2]
ἔδεισεν ὁ κατήγορος αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐλαττωθῇ διὰ
τοῦτο παρὰ τοῖς δικασταῖς ἐφ' οἷσπερ εἰώθει
τὰ τοιαῦτα κρίνεσθαι, καὶ παρὰ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ
δικασθῆναι μάτην ἠθέλησεν· οὐ γὰρ ἐκράτησεν.
—Exc. V. 182 (p. 665).

25 . . . μετὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἔχων. τῷ δὲ δευ-
τέρῳ τά τε ἄλλα τὰ προειρημένα ἐγένετο, καὶ τὸ
Ὁμονόειον ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου καθιερώθη, καὶ
αὐτῷ τό τε ἐκείνου ὄνομα καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δρούσου
τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ τεθνηκότος ἐπεγράφη.
2 Μάρκου δὲ Αἰμιλίου μετὰ Στατιλίου Ταύρου
ὑπατεύσαντος, Τιβέριος μὲν καὶ Γερμανικὸς ἀντὶ
ὑπάτου ἄρχων ἔς τε τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐσέβαλον καὶ
κατέδραμόν τινα αὐτῆς, οὐ μέντοι οὔτε μάχῃ τινὶ
ἐνίκησαν (ἐς γὰρ χεῖρας οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς ᾔει) οὔτε
3 ἔθνος τι ὑπηγάγοντο· δεδιότες γὰρ μὴ καὶ συμ-
φορᾷ αὖθις περιπέσωσιν, οὐ πάνυ πόρρω τοῦ
Ῥήνου προῆλθον, ἀλλὰ αὐτοῦ που μέχρι τοῦ
μετοπώρου μείναντες καὶ τὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου
γενέθλια ἑορτάσαντες καί τινα ἱπποδρομίαν
ἐν αὐτοῖς διὰ τῶν ἑκατοντάρχων ποιήσαντες
ἐπανῆλθον.

Tiberius did not see fit to cross the Rhine, but kept quiet, watching to see that the barbarians did not cross. And they, knowing him to be there, did not venture to cross in their turn. A.D. 10

Germanicus was becoming endeared to the populace for many reasons, but particularly because he acted as advocate for various persons, and this quite as much before Augustus himself as before the other judges. Accordingly, on one occasion when he was going to lend assistance in this way to a quaestor who was charged with murder, his accuser became alarmed lest he should in consequence of this lose his suit before the judges who regularly heard such cases, and wished to have it tried before Augustus. But his efforts were all in vain, for he did not win the suit.

. . . holding [it] after his praetorship. But the next year, in addition to the events already described, the temple of Concord was dedicated by Tiberius, and both his name and that of Drusus, his dead brother, were inscribed upon it. In the consulship A.D. 11
of Marcus Aemilius and Statilius Taurus, Tiberius and Germanicus, the latter acting as proconsul, invaded Germany and overran portions of it. They did not win any battle, however, since no one came to close quarters with them, nor did they reduce any tribe; for in their fear of falling victims to a fresh disaster they did not advance very far beyond the Rhine, but after remaining in that region until late autumn and celebrating the birthday of Augustus, on which they held a horse-race under the direction of the centurions, they returned.

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[1] ὑπερεδίκει Val., ὑπερδίκῃ cod.

[2] ἔχοντι . . . μέλλοντος Bk., ἔχοντι ἐδίκασε τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ συναγορεύειν οἱ μέλλοντος cod.

4 Ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ Ῥώμῃ Δροῦσός τε Καῖσαρ ὁ τοῦ Τιβερίου παῖς ἐταμίευσε, καὶ στρατηγοὶ ἑκκαίδεκα ἦρξαν, ἐπειδὴ τοσοῦτοί τε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντεποιήσαντο καὶ οὐδένα αὐτῶν λυπῆσαι ὁ Αὔγουστος, οἷα ἐν τοιούτοις ὤν, ἠθέλησεν· οὐ μὴν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐφεξῆς ἔτεσι ταὐτὸν ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' οἱ δώδεκα ἐπὶ πολὺ κατέστησαν.
5 τότε δ' οὖν ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἐπράχθη, καὶ τοῖς μάντεσιν ἀπηγορεύθη μήτε κατὰ μόνας τινὶ μήτε περὶ θανάτου, μηδ' ἂν ἄλλοι συμπαρῶσίν οἱ, χρᾶν· καίτοι οὕτως οὐδὲν τῷ Αὐγούστῳ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἔμελεν ὥστε ἐκ προγραφῆς πᾶσι τὴν τῶν ἀστέρων διάταξιν, ὑφ' ὧν ἐγεγέννητο, φανερῶσαι.
6 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνό τε ἀπεῖπε, καὶ τῷ ὑπηκόῳ προσπαρήγγειλε μηδενὶ τῶν προστασσομένων αὐτοῖς ἀρχόντων μήτε ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνῳ μήτε ἐντὸς ἑξήκοντα ἡμερῶν μετὰ τὸ ἀπαλλαγῆναί σφας τιμήν τινα διδόναι, ὅτι τινὲς μαρτυρίας παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπαίνους προπαρασκευαζόμενοι
7 πολλὰ διὰ τούτου ἐκακούργουν. ταῖς τε πρεσβείαις τρεῖς καὶ τότε βουλευταὶ ἐχρημάτισαν, καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν, ὃ καὶ θαυμάσειεν ἄν τις, μονομαχεῖν ἐπετράπη. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ τινὲς τὴν ἀτιμίαν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπικειμένην ἐποιοῦντο. ἐπεὶ γὰρ μήτ' ὄφελός τι τῆς ἀπορρήσεως ἐγίγνετο καὶ τιμωρίας μείζονος ἄξιοι εἶναι ἐδόκουν, ἢ καὶ ἀποτραπήσεσθαι ἐνομίσθησαν, συνεχωρήθη
8 σφίσι τοῦτο ποιεῖν. καὶ οὕτως ἀντὶ τῆς ἀτιμίας θάνατον ὤφλισκανον· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἧττον ἐμονομά-

BOOK LVI

At Rome Drusus Caesar, the son of Tiberius, became quaestor, and sixteen praetors held office because that number were candidates for the position and Augustus, in view of the difficulties in which he found himself, was unwilling to offend any of them. The same did not hold true, however, of the years immediately following, but the number remained at twelve for a considerable period. Besides these events at that time, the seers were forbidden to prophesy to any person alone or to prophesy regarding death even if others should be present. Yet so far was Augustus from caring about such matters in his own case that he set forth to all in an edict the aspect of the stars at the time of his own birth. Nevertheless, he forbade this practice. He also issued a proclamation to the subject nations forbidding them to bestow any honours upon a person assigned to govern them either during his term of office or within sixty days after his departure; this was because some governors by arranging beforehand for testimonials and eulogies from their subjects were causing much mischief. Three senators, as before, transacted business with embassies, and the knights—a fact which may cause surprise—were allowed to fight as gladiators. The reason for this was that some were making light of the disfranchisement imposed as the penalty for such conduct. For inasmuch as there proved to be no use in forbidding it, and the guilty seemed to require a greater punishment, or else because it seemed possible that they might even be turned aside from this course, they were granted permission to take part in such contests. In this way they incurred death instead of disfranchisement; for they fought just as much as ever, especially since their A.D. 11

χουν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι δεινῶς οἱ ἀγῶνες αὐτῶν ἐσπουδάζοντο, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Αὔγουστον τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τοῖς ἀγωνοθετοῦσί σφας συνθεᾶσθαι.[1]

26 Γερμανικὸς δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν μηδὲ στρατηγήσας ἐδέξατο, καὶ δι' ὅλου αὐτὴν[2] τοῦ ἔτους, οὐ πρὸς τὴν ἀξίωσιν ἀλλ' ὥς που καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἔτι καὶ τότε ἦρχον, ἔσχε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἄξιον μνήμης ἔπραξε, πλὴν ὅτι καὶ τότε ὑπερεδίκησεν, ἐπεί γε ὁ συνάρχων αὐτοῦ Γάιος Καπίτων καὶ πάνυ τὴν ἄλλως ἠριθμεῖτο·
2 ὁ δὲ δὴ Αὔγουστος ἐκεῖνόν τε ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ γήρως ὢν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ ταύτην τῷ Τιβερίῳ παρακατέθετο. ἀνέγνω δὲ τὸ βιβλίον οὐκ αὐτός (οὐ γὰρ οἷός τε ἦν γεγωνίσκειν) ἀλλ' ὁ Γερμανικός, ὥσπερ εἰώθει. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ᾐτήσατο παρ' αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Κελτικοῦ πολέμου προφάσει, μήτ' οἴκοι αὐτὸν ἀσπάζεσθαι μήτ' ἀγανακτεῖν εἰ μηκέτι
3 συσσιτοίη σφίσι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖστον, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὁσάκις ἕδρα αὐτῶν ἐγίγνετο, ἔν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ γε ἔστιν ὅτε τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ ἐσιόντα αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπιόντα αὖθις ἠσπάζοντο, ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ, καὶ καθήμενόν γε, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ κατακείμενον, οὐχ ὅτι ἡ γερουσία ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἱππῆς τοῦ τε δήμου πολλοί.

27 Οὐ μέντοι καὶ τἆλλα ἧττόν τι παρὰ τοῦτο διῴκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσι δημαρχίαν αἰτῆσαι ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι βιβλία ἄττα ἐφ' ὕβρει τινῶν συγγράφοιτο, ζήτησιν αὐτῶν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἐκεῖνά τε, τὰ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει εὑρεθέντα πρὸς

[1] συνθεᾶσθαι Pflugk, συνθέσθαι M.
[2] ἐς αὐτὴν M (but corrected in marg. ?).

contests were eagerly witnessed, so that even Augustus used to watch them in company with the praetors who superintended the contests. A.D. 11

Germanicus soon afterwards received the office of consul, though he had not even been praetor, and he held it throughout the whole year, not because of his rank, but in the same way that certain others still held the office at this time for the whole period. Germanicus himself did nothing memorable, except that at this time, too, he acted as advocate in law-suits, since his colleague, Gaius Capito, counted as a mere figurehead. But Augustus, since he was growing old, wrote a letter commending Germanicus to the senate and the latter to Tiberius; the letter was not read by Augustus himself, for he was unable to make himself heard, but by Germanicus, as usual. After this the emperor, making the German war his excuse, asked the senators not to greet him at his home or to feel hurt if he did not continue to join with them in their public banquets. For it was their general practice, especially whenever they were to have a meeting, to greet him not only in the Forum but sometimes also in the senate-house itself, both when he entered and again when he left; and it actually happened that when he was sitting or sometimes even lying down in the palace not only the senate but the knights and many of the populace as well came to greet him. A.D. 12

In spite of all this, however, he continued to attend to his other duties as before. He now allowed the knights to become candidates for the tribuneship. And learning that some vituperative pamphlets were being written concerning certain people, he ordered search to be made for them; those that were found

τῶν ἀγορανόμων τὰ δὲ ἔξω πρὸς τῶν ἑκασταχόθι ἀρχόντων, κατέφλεξε, καὶ τῶν συνθέντων
2 αὐτὰ ἐκόλασέ τινας. ἐπειδή τε συχνοὶ φυγάδες οἱ μὲν ἔξω τῶν τόπων ἐς οὓς ἐξωρίσθησαν τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ἁβρότερον διῆγον, ἀπηγόρευσε μηδένα πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος εἰρχθέντα[1] μήτε ἐν ἠπείρῳ διατρίβειν μήτε ἐν νήσῳ τῶν ὅσαι ἔλαττον τετρακοσίων ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρου σταδίων ἀπέχουσι, πλὴν Κῶ τε καὶ Ῥόδου Σάμου[2] τε καὶ Λέσβου· ταύτας γὰρ οὐκ
3 οἶδ' ὅπως μόνας ὑπεξείλετο. ἐκεῖνά τε οὖν αὐτοῖς προσέταξε, καὶ τὸ μήτε περαιοῦσθαί ποι ἄλλοσε, μήτε πλοῖα πλείω φορτικοῦ τε ἑνὸς χιλιοφόρου καὶ κωπήρων δύο κεκτῆσθαι, μήτε δούλοις ἢ καὶ ἀπελευθέροις ὑπὲρ εἴκοσι χρῆσθαι, μήτ' οὐσίαν ὑπὲρ δώδεκα καὶ ἡμίσειαν μυριάδα ἔχειν, τιμωρηθήσεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τούς τι παρὰ ταῦτα συμπράξαντάς σφισιν ἐπαπειλήσας.

4 Ταῦτά τε οὕτως, ὅσα γε καὶ ἐς ἱστορίαν ἀναγκαῖά ἐστι, διενομοθετήθη, καὶ πανήγυρις ἔξω τῶν νενομισμένων ὑπό τε τῶν ὀρχηστῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱπποτρόφων ἐποιήθη. τά τε Ἄρεια τότε μέν, ἐπειδὴ ὁ Τίβερις[3] τὸν ἱππόδρομον προκατέσχεν, ἐν τῇ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἵππων δρόμῳ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ θηρίων σφαγῇ ἐτιμήθη,
5 αὖθις δὲ ὥσπερ εἴθιστο ἐγένετο, καὶ λέοντάς γε ἐς αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ διακοσίους ὁ[4] Γερμα-

[1] εἰρχθέντα R. Steph., εἱρχθέντα M.
[2] Σάμου Bs., σαρδοῦς M.
[3] Τίβερις R. Steph., τιβέριος M.
[4] ὁ Rk., ὅ τε M.

in the city he ordered to be burned by the aediles, A.D. 12
and those outside by the officials in each place, and he punished some of the writers. As there were many exiles who were either living outside of the districts to which they had been banished or living too luxuriously in the proper places, he ordered that no one who had been debarred from fire and water should live either on the mainland or on any of the islands within fifty miles of it, except Cos, Rhodes, Samos, and Lesbos; for he made an exception in the case of these alone for some reason or other. Besides this, he enjoined upon the exiles that they should not cross the sea to any other point, and should not possess more than one ship of burden having a capacity of a thousand amphorae and two ships driven by oars; that they should not employ more than twenty slaves or freedmen, and should not possess property to the value of more than half a million sesterces; and he threatened to punish not only the exiles themselves but all others as well who should in any way assist them in violating these commands.

These are the laws, as fully as is necessary for our history, that he caused to be passed. A special festival was also held by the actors[1] and the horse-breeders. The Ludi Martiales, owing to the fact that the Tiber had overflowed the Circus, were held on this occasion in the Forum of Augustus and were celebrated in a fashion by a horse-race and the slaying of wild beasts. They were also given a second time, as custom decreed,[2] and Germanicus this time caused two hundred lions to be slain in the Circus.

[1] Literally, pantomimic dancers.
[2] Cf. lx. 6, 4.

νικὸς ἀπέκτεινεν. ἥ τε στοὰ ἡ Ἰουλία[1] καλουμένη ᾠκοδομήθη τε ἐς τιμὴν τοῦ τε Γαΐου καὶ τοῦ Λουκίου τῶν Καισάρων, καὶ τότε καθιερώθη.

28 Λουκίου δὲ δὴ Μουνατίου καὶ Γαΐου Σιλίου ἐς τοὺς ὑπατεύοντας ἐσγραφέντων, τήν τε προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν τὴν δεκέτιν[2] τὴν πέμπτην ἄκων δὴ ὁ Αὔγουστος ἔλαβε, καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν δημαρχικὴν αὖθις ἔδωκε, τῷ τε Δρούσῳ τῷ υἱεῖ αὐτοῦ ὑπατείαν ἐς ἔτος τρίτον,
2 καὶ πρὶν στρατηγῆσαι, αἰτῆσαι ἐπέτρεψε. καὶ συμβούλους ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρως, ὑφ᾽ οὗπερ οὐδ᾽ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἔτι πλὴν σπανιώτατα συνεφοίτα, εἴκοσιν ἐτησίους ᾐτήσατο· πρότερον γὰρ καθ᾽ ἔκμηνον πεντεκαίδεκα προσετίθετο. καὶ προσεψηφίσθη, πάνθ᾽ ὅσα ἂν αὐτῷ μετά τε τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκείνων τῶν τε ἀεὶ ὑπατευόντων
3 καὶ τῶν ἐς τοῦτο ἀποδεδειγμένων, τῶν τε ἐγγόνων αὐτοῦ τῶν ποιητῶν δῆλον ὅτι, τῶν τε ἄλλων ὅσους ἂν ἑκάστοτε προσπαραλάβῃ, βουλευομένῳ δόξῃ, κύρια ὡς καὶ πάσῃ τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἀρέσαντα εἶναι. τοῦτ᾽ οὖν ἐκ τοῦ δόγματος, ὅπερ που καὶ ἄλλως τῷ γε ἔργῳ εἶχε, προσθέμενος, οὕτω τὰ πλείω καὶ κατακείμενος ἔστιν ὅτε ἐχρημάτιζεν.
4 ἐπεί τε ἐπὶ τῇ εἰκοστῇ πάντες ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐβαρύνοντο καὶ ἐδόκει τι νεώτερον ἔσεσθαι, ἔπεμψε βιβλίον ἐς τὴν βουλήν, κελεύων ἄλλους τινὰς αὐτὴν πόρους ἐπιζητῆσαι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐχ ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖνο τὸ τέλος καταλύσων ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα μηδενὸς ἄλλου αἱρετωτέρου σφίσι φανέντος καὶ ἄκοντες αὐτὸ ἄνευ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ διαβολῆς βεβαιώ-

[1] Ἰουλία Merkel, λιουία M.

[2] δεκέτιν R. Steph., δεκέτη$^{\nu}$ M (ν due to corr.).

BOOK LVI

The Porticus Iulia, as it was called, was built in honour of Gaius and Lucius Caesar, and was now dedicated. A.D. 12

When Lucius Munatius and Gaius Silius had been installed as consuls, Augustus with seeming reluctance accepted a fifth ten-year term as head of the State. He again gave Tiberius the tribunician power, and permitted Drusus, the latter's son, to stand for the consulship two years later without ever having held the praetorship. He also asked for twenty annual counsellors because of his age, which did not permit him to go to the senate-house any longer except on rare occasions; previously, it seems, he had associated with himself fifteen advisers for six months at a time. It was also voted that any measure should be valid, as being satisfactory to the whole senate, which should be resolved upon by him in deliberation with Tiberius and with these counsellors, as well as the consuls of the year and the consuls designate, together with his grandchildren (the adopted ones, I mean) and such others as he might at any time call on for advice. Having gained by this decree these privileges, which in reality he had possessed in any case, he continued to transact most of the public business, though he sometimes reclined while doing so. When, now, nearly all felt burdened by the five per cent. tax [1] and an uprising seemed likely, he sent a communication to the senate bidding its members to seek some other sources of revenue. He did this, not with the intention of abolishing the tax, but in order that when no other method should seem to them better, they should ratify the measure, reluctantly though it might be, without bringing any censure upon him. He also A.D. 13

[1] Cf. lv. 25, 5.

5 σωσι. καὶ ὅπως γε μὴ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ τοῦ τε Δρούσου γνώμην τινὰ εἰπόντων ὑποτοπήσωσί τε ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐντολῆς τοῦτο γεγονέναι καὶ ἀνεξέταστον αὐτὴν ἕλωνται, προσέταξε μηδέτερον αὐτῶν μηδὲν εἰπεῖν. καὶ ἐλέχθη μὲν πολλά, καί τινα καὶ διὰ βιβλίων τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἐδηλώθη·
6 καταμαθὼν δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκεῖνο ἑτοίμους σφᾶς ὑπομεῖναι ὄντας, ἐπί τε τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τὴν συντέλειαν ἤγαγε, καὶ παραχρῆμα μηδὲν εἰπών, μήθ' ὅσον μήθ' ὅπως αὐτὸ δώσουσιν, ἔπεμψεν ἄλλους ἄλλῃ τά τε τῶν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ[1] τὰ τῶν πόλεων κτήματα ἀπογραψομένους, ἵν' ὡς καὶ μειζόνως ζημιωθησόμενοι δείσωσι καὶ τὴν εἰκοστὴν τελεῖν ἀνθέλωνται. ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο.—Xiph. 118, 3–6.

29 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὧδέ πῃ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ διῳκεῖτο· ἱπποδρομίας δὲ τελουμένης ἐν τῇ τῶν Αὐγουσταλίων θέᾳ, ἥτις ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ γενεθλίοις ἐγίγνετο, ἀνήρ τις ἐμμανὴς ἔς τε τὸν δίφρον τὸν τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ Ἰουλίῳ κείμενον[2] ἐνιδρύθη[3] καὶ τὸν στέφανον αὐτοῦ λαβὼν περιέθετο. ὃ πάντας ἐτάραξεν, καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει ἐς τὸν Αὔγουστόν τι σημαίνεσθαι.
2 ὅπερ καὶ ἀληθὲς ἦν· τῷ γὰρ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ Σέξτος τε Ἀπουλέιος[4] καὶ Σέξτος Πομπήιος ὑπάτευσαν, ἐξωρμήθη τε ἐς τὴν Καμπανίαν ὁ Αὔγουστος, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐν τῇ Νέᾳ πόλει[5] διαθεὶς ἔπειτα ἐν Νώλῃ μετήλλαξε. τέρατα δὲ

[1] A folium of M is missing after καί. The lacuna is supplied from Xiph. and Zon.

[2] κείμενον Xiph., ἀνακείμενον Zon.

[3] ἐνιδρύθη Bk., ἐνιδρύνθη Xiph.

[4] Ἀπουλέιος Bs., ἀπουίλιος Xiph.

ordered both Germanicus and Drusus not to make any statement about it, for fear that if they expressed an opinion it should be suspected that this had been done at his command, and the senate would therefore choose that plan without further investigation. There was much discussion and some proposals were submitted to Augustus in writing. When he learned from these that the senators were ready to submit to any form of tax rather than to the one in force, he changed it to a levy upon fields and houses; and immediately, without stating how great it would be or in what way imposed, he sent men out everywhere to make a list of the property both of private individuals and of cities. His object was that they should fear even greater losses and so be content to pay the five per cent. tax; and this is what actually happened. Thus Augustus handled these matters. A.D. 13

During a horse-race at the Augustalia,[1] which were celebrated in honour of his birthday, a madman seated himself in the chair which was dedicated to Julius Caesar, and taking his crown, put it on. This incident disturbed everybody, for it seemed to have some bearing upon Augustus, as, indeed, proved true. For in the following year, when Sextus Apuleius and Sextus Pompeius were consuls, Augustus set out for Campania, and after superintending the games at Neapolis, passed away shortly afterward at Nola. A.D. 14

[1] Cf. liv. 34, 1–2, where Dio himself appears to apply the name Augustalia to the celebration of Augustus' birthday as well as to the Augustalia proper; but he there adds the phrase "which are still celebrated" to distinguish the latter from the former.

[2] Νέᾳ πόλει Bs., νεαπόλει VCL'

ἄρα ἐς τοῦτο αὐτῷ φέροντα οὔτε ἐλάχιστα οὔτε
3 δυσσύμβλητα ἐγεγένητο· ὅ τε γὰρ ἥλιος ἅπας
ἐξέλιπε, καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸ πολὺ καίεσθαι ἔδοξε,
ξύλα τε διάπυρα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πίπτοντα ἐφαντάσθη,
καὶ ἀστέρες κομῆται καὶ αἱματώδεις ὤφθησαν.
βουλῆς τε ἐπὶ τῇ νόσῳ αὐτοῦ ἐπαγγελθείσης,
ἵν' εὐχὰς ποιήσωνται [Xiph. 118, 6–22, Zon. 10,
38, p. 453, 21–454, 2 D.] τό[1] τε συνέδριον κεκλει-
μένον[2] εὑρέθη καὶ βύας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καθήμενος
4 ἔβυξε. καὶ κεραυνὸς ἐς εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ
Καπιτωλίῳ ἑστῶσαν ἐμπεσὼν τὸ γράμμα τὸ
πρῶτον τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἠφάνισεν·
ὅθεν οἱ μάντεις ἑκατοστῇ[3] μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν
ἡμέρᾳ θείας τινὸς μοίρας μεταλήψεσθαι ἔφασαν,
τεκμαιρόμενοι ὅτι τό τε στοιχεῖον ἐκεῖνο τὸν τῶν
ἑκατὸν ἀριθμὸν παρὰ τοῖς Λατίνοις καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν
5 πᾶν ὄνομα θεὸν παρὰ τοῖς Τυρσηνοῖς νοεῖ. ταῦτα
μὲν ζῶντος ἔτ' αὐτοῦ προεφάνη, τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἔπειτα
ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὸ τῶν ὑπάτων τό τε τοῦ Σερουίου
Σουλπικίου Γάλβου ἐνθύμιον ἐγένετο. ἐκεῖνοί
τε γὰρ συγγενεῖς πῃ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ὄντες ἦρχον,
καὶ ὁ Γάλβας ὁ τὸ κράτος ὕστερον χρόνῳ λαβὼν
τότε ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νουμηνίᾳ ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους
6 ἐνεγράφη. ἐπεὶ οὖν πρῶτος μετὰ τὸ τοῦ Αὐγού-
στου γένος ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων ἐμονάρχησε,
λόγον τισὶ παρέσχεν ὡς οὐκ ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου
τότε ταῦτα ἀλλ' ἐκ δαιμονίου προβουλῆς ἐγένετο.
30 Ὁ δ' οὖν Αὔγουστος νοσήσας μετήλλαξε· καί
τινα ὑποψίαν τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ ἡ Λιουία

[1] M resumes with τό.
[2] κεκλειμένον Dind., κεκλεισμένον M.
[3] ἑκατοστῇ Dind., ἕκαστος τῆι M.

Indeed, not a few omens had appeared, and these by no means difficult of interpretation, all pointing to this fate for him. Thus, the sun suffered a total eclipse and most of the sky seemed to be on fire; glowing embers appeared to be falling from it and blood-red comets were seen. When a meeting of the senate had been appointed on account of the emperor's illness, in order that they might offer prayers, the senate-house was found closed and an owl sitting on it hooted. A thunderbolt fell upon his statue that stood upon the Capitol and blotted out the first letter of the name "Caesar." This led the seers to declare that on the hundredth day after that he should attain to some divine state. They deduced this from the fact that the letter "C" signifies "one hundred" among the Latins, and the remainder of the word means "god" among the Etruscans. Now these signs appeared beforehand while he was still alive; but people of later days were struck also by coincidences in the case of the consuls and of Servius Sulpicius Galba. For the consuls then in office were in some way related to Augustus; and Galba, who later came to the throne, assumed the *toga virilis* at this time on the very first day of the year. Now since he was the first of the Romans to become emperor after the family of Augustus had passed away, it gave occasion to some to say that this had not been a mere coincidence, but had been brought about by some divine purpose. A.D. 14

So Augustus fell sick and died. Livia incurred some suspicion in connexion with his death, in view of the fact that he had secretly sailed over to the

ἔλαβεν, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν κρύφα ἐς τὴν νῆσον διέπλευσε καὶ ἐδόκει οἱ καὶ παντά-
2 πασι καταλλαγήσεσθαι. δείσασα[1] γάρ, ὥς φασι, μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ μοναρχίᾳ αὐτὸν καταγάγῃ, σῦκά τινα ἐπὶ δένδροις ἔτ' ἐπόντα, ἀφ' ὧν ὁ Αὔγουστος αὐτοχειρίᾳ συκάζειν εἰώθει, φαρμάκῳ ἔχρισε, καὶ αὐτή τε ἅμα τὰ ἀνήλιφα[2] ἤσθιε
3 κἀκείνῳ τὰ πεφαρμαγμένα[3] προσέβαλλεν. εἴτ' οὖν ἐκ τούτου εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως ἀρρωστήσας τούς τε ἑταίρους συνεκάλεσε, καὶ εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς ὅσα ἔχρῃζε, τέλος ἔφη ὅτι "τὴν Ῥώμην γηΐνην[4]
4 παραλαβὼν λιθίνην ὑμῖν καταλείπω." τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐ πρὸς τὸ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων αὐτῆς ἀκριβὲς ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἰσχυρὸν ἐνεδείξατο· κρότον δὲ δή τινα παρ' αὐτῶν ὁμοίως τοῖς γελωτοποιοῖς, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ μίμου τινὸς τελευτῇ,[5] αἰτήσας καὶ πάμπανυ πάντα τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον διέσκωψε.

5 Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω τῇ ἐννεακαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ Αὐγούστου, ἐν ᾗ ποτε τὸ πρῶτον ὑπάτευσε, μετήλλαξε, ζήσας μὲν πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ μῆνας δέκα καὶ ἡμέρας ἓξ καὶ εἴκοσι (τῇ γὰρ τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου ἐγεγέννητο), μοναρχήσας δέ, ἀφ' οὗ πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ ἐνίκησε, τέσσαρα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη, δεκατριῶν ἡμερῶν
31 δέοντα. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκφανὴς εὐθὺς ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο· ἡ γὰρ Λιουία, φοβηθεῖσα μὴ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐν τῇ Δελματίᾳ ἔτ' ὄντος νεωτερισθῇ τι, συνέκρυψεν αὐτὸν μέχρις οὗ ἐκεῖνος ἀφίκετο. ταῦτα γὰρ οὕτω τοῖς τε πλείοσι καὶ τοῖς[6] ἀξιο-

[1] δείσασα Xiph., δείσας M.
[2] ἀνήλιφα Sylburg, ἀνήλειφα M Xiph.

island[1] to see Agrippa and seemed about to become completely reconciled with him. For she was afraid, some say, that Augustus would bring him back to make him sovereign, and so smeared with poison some figs that were still on trees from which Augustus was wont to gather the fruit with his own hands; then she ate those that had not been smeared, offering the poisoned ones to him. At any rate, from this or some other cause he became ill, and sending for his associates, he told them all his wishes, adding finally: "I found Rome of clay; I leave it to you of marble." He did not thereby refer literally to the appearance of its buildings, but rather to the strength of the empire. And by asking them for their applause, after the manner of the comic actors, as if at the close of a mime, he ridiculed most tellingly the whole life of man. A.D. 14

Thus on the nineteenth day of August, the day on which he had first become consul, he passed away, having lived seventy-five years, ten months, and twenty-six days (he had been born on the twenty-third of September), and having been sole ruler, from the time of his victory at Actium, forty-four years lacking thirteen days. His death, however, was not immediately made public; for Livia, fearing that as Tiberius was still in Dalmatia there might be some uprising, concealed the fact until he arrived. This, at any rate, is the statement made by most

[1] The island of Planasia; see lv. 32, 2.

[3] πεφαρμαγμένα Xiph., Zon., variant in M, πεφαρμακευμένα M.
[4] γηίνην M Xiph., πηλίνην Zon.
[5] τελευτῇ Xiph., τελευτῆς M.
[6] τοῖς supplied by Dind.

πιστοτέροις γέγραπται· εἰσὶ γάρ τινες οἳ καὶ παραγενέσθαι τὸν Τιβέριον τῇ νόσῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπισκήψεις τινὰς παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἔφασαν.
2 τὸ δ' οὖν σῶμα τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐκ μὲν τῆς Νώλης οἱ πρῶτοι καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἐβάστασαν, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τῇ Ῥώμῃ γενόμενον οἱ ἱππῆς παραλαβόντες νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἐσεκόμισαν. τῇ τε ὑστεραίᾳ βουλὴ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὴν ἱππάδα στολὴν ἐνδεδυκότες συνῆλθον, οἱ δ' ἄρχοντες τὴν βουλευτικὴν
3 πλὴν τῶν ἱματίων τῶν περιπορφύρων· ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος καὶ ὁ Δροῦσος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ φαιάν, τὸν ἀγοραῖον τρόπον πεποιημένην, εἶχον. καὶ τοῦ μὲν λιβανωτοῦ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔθυσαν, τῷ δ' αὐλητῇ οὐκ ἐχρήσαντο. ἐκαθέζοντο δὲ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ὥς που ἕκαστος εἰώθει, οἱ δ' ὕπατοι κάτω ἐν τοῖς βάθροις ὁ μὲν τῷ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ δὲ τῷ τῶν δημάρχων. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῷ τε Τιβερίῳ ἄδεια ἐδόθη, ὅτι τοῦ τε νεκροῦ, οὐκ ἐξὸν δή, ἥψατο καὶ συμπαρέπεμψεν αὐτόν (καίτοι τὰς[1] . . .

32,1[a] . . . τὰς διαθήκας αὐτοῦ ὁ Δροῦσος ἐκ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων τῶν τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερειῶν, αἷς παρετέθειντο, εἰληφὼς εἰς τὸ συνέδριον εἰσήνεγκε, καὶ τὰς σφραγῖδας οἱ κατασημηνάμενοι ἐπεσκέψαντο, καὶ ἀνεγνώσθησαν ἐν ἐπηκόῳ τοῦ συνεδρίου. —Zon. 10, 38 (p. 454, 27–455, 2 D.).

1 Xiph. 120, 7–121, 32: . . . τὰς διαθήκας αὐτοῦ Πολύβιός τις καισάρειος ἀνέγνω ὡς μὴ πρέπον βουλευτῇ τοιοῦτόν τι ἀναλέγεσθαι. κατελέλειπτο δὲ ἐν αὐταῖς τὰ μὲν δύο μέρη τοῦ κλήρου τῷ Τιβερίῳ, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τῇ Λιουίᾳ, ὥς τινες λέγουσιν· ἵνα γάρ τι καὶ ἐκείνη τῆς οὐσίας

writers, and the more trustworthy ones; but there A.D. 14
are some who have affirmed that Tiberius was present during the emperor's illness, and received some injunctions from him. The body of Augustus was carried from Nola by the foremost men of each city in succession. When it drew near Rome, the knights took it in charge and conveyed it by night into the city. On the following day there was a meeting of the senate, to which the majority came wearing the equestrian costume, but the magistrates the senatorial garb except for the purple-bordered toga.[1] Tiberius and his son Drusus wore dark clothing made for use in the Forum. They, too, offered incense, but did not employ a flute-player. Most of the members sat in their accustomed places, but the consuls sat below, one on the praetors' bench and the other on that of the tribunes. After this Tiberius was absolved for having touched the corpse, a forbidden act, and for having escorted it on its journey, although the . . .

. . . his will Drusus took from the Vestal Virgins, with whom it had been deposited, and carried it into the senate. Those who had witnessed the document examined the seals, and then it was read in the hearing of the senate.

. . . Polybius, an imperial freedman, read his will, as it was not proper for a senator to pronounce anything of the sort. It showed that two-thirds of the inheritance had been left to Tiberius and the remainder to Livia; at least this is one report. For, in order that she, too, should have some enjoyment of his

[1] Cf. xl. 46, 1.

[1] Another folium is here lost from M.

αὐτοῦ ἀπόνηται, παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ᾐτήσατο τοσοῦ-
τον αὐτῇ καὶ παρὰ τὸν νόμον καταλιπεῖν δυνη-
2 θῆναι. κληρονόμοι μὲν δὴ οὗτοι ἐγεγράφατο·
κτήματα δὲ καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ πολλοῖς καὶ
τῶν προσηκόντων οἱ καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, οὐχ
ὅπως βουλευταῖς καὶ ἱππεῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ βασι-
λεῦσι, τῷ τε δήμῳ χιλίας μυριάδας, καὶ τοῖς
στρατιώταις τοῖς μὲν δορυφόροις κατὰ πεντή-
κοντα καὶ διακοσίας δραχμάς, τοῖς δ' ἀστικοῖς
τὴν ἡμίσειαν, τῷ τε λοιπῷ τῷ πολιτικῷ πλήθει
3 πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα δοθῆναι ἐκέλευσε. καὶ
προσέτι καὶ τοῖς παισὶν ὧν μικρῶν ἔτι ὄντων
τοὺς πατέρας τῶν οὐσιῶν ἐκεκληρονομήκει, προσ-
έταξε πάντα μετὰ τῶν προσόδων, ἐπειδὰν
ἀνδρωθῶσιν, ἀποδοθῆναι. ὅπερ που καὶ ζῶν
ἐποίει· εἰ γάρ τινα τέκνα ἔχοντα διεδέξατο, τοῖς
παισὶν αὐτοῦ πάντως, εἰ μὲν ἤδη τότε τέλειοι
ἦσαν, εὐθύς, εἰ δὲ μή, μετὰ τοῦτο πάντα ἀπε-
4 δίδου. τοιοῦτος μέντοι περὶ τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους
παῖδας ὢν τὴν θυγατέρα οὔτε κατήγαγε, καίπερ
καὶ δωρεῶν ἀξιώσας, καὶ ταφῆναι ἐν τῷ αὑτοῦ
μνημείῳ ἀπηγόρευσε.
33 Τοσαῦτα μὲν αἱ διαθῆκαι ἐδήλουν, ἐσεκομίσθη
δὲ καὶ βιβλία τέσσαρα· καὶ αὐτὰ ὁ Δροῦσος
ἀνέγνω. ἐγέγραπτο δὲ ἐν μὲν τῷ πρώτῳ ὅσα τῆς
ταφῆς εἴχετο, ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ τὰ ἔργα ἃ ἔπραξε
πάντα, ἃ καὶ ἐς χαλκᾶς στήλας πρὸς τῷ ἡρῴῳ
2 αὐτοῦ σταθείσας ἀναγραφῆναι ἐκέλευσε· τὸ τρί-

[1] Cf. ch. 10, 2.

[2] The *Acta Divi Augusti.* A fragmentary copy of this record, together with a Greek translation, was discovered in the sixteenth century inscribed on the walls of a temple of

estate, he had asked the senate for permission to leave her so much, which was more than the amount allowed by law.[1] These two, then, were named as heirs. He also directed that many articles and sums of money should be given to many different persons, both relatives of his and others unrelated, not only to senators and knights but also to kings; to the people he left forty million sesterces; and as for the soldiers, one thousand sesterces apiece to the Pretorians, half that amount to the city t[illegible] and to the rest of the citizen soldiery three hu[illegible] each. Moreover, in the case of children of wh[illegible] fathers he had been the heir while the children were still small, he enjoined that the whole amount together with interest should be paid back to them when they became men. This, in fact, had been his practice even while living; for whenever he inherited the estate of anyone who had offspring, he never failed to restore it all to the man's children, immediately if they were already grown up, and otherwise later. Nevertheless, though he took such an attitude toward the children of others, he did not restore his own daughter from exile, though he did hold her worthy to receive gifts; and he commanded that she should not be buried in his own tomb. So much was made clear by the will. A.D. 14

Four books were then brought in and Drusus read them. In the first were written detailed instructions regarding his funeral; in the second were recorded all the acts which he had performed, which he commanded also to be inscribed upon bronze columns to be set up around his shrine;[2] the third

Augustus at Angora, the ancient Ancyra (hence known as the *Monumentum Ancyranum*).

τον τά τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν προσόδων
τῶν τε ἀναλωμάτων τῶν δημοσίων, τό τε πλῆθος
τῶν ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς χρημάτων, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα
τοιουτότροπα ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν φέροντα ἦν, εἶχε,
3 καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ἐντολὰς καὶ ἐπισκήψεις τῷ
Τιβερίῳ καὶ τῷ κοινῷ, ἄλλας τε καὶ ὅπως μήτ᾽
ἀπελευθερῶσι πολλούς, ἵνα μὴ παντοδαποῦ
ὄχλου τὴν πόλιν πληρώσωσι, μήτ᾽ αὖ ἐς τὴν
πολιτείαν συχνοὺς ἐσγράφωσιν, ἵνα πολὺ τὸ
4 διάφορον αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ᾖ. τά τε
κοινὰ πᾶσι τοῖς δυναμένοις καὶ εἰδέναι καὶ πράτ-
τειν ἐπιτρέπειν, καὶ ἐς μηδένα ἕνα[1] ἀναρτᾶν
αὐτὰ παρῄνεσέ σφισιν, ὅπως μήτε τυραννίδος
τις ἐπιθυμήσῃ,[2] μήτ᾽ αὖ πταίσαντος ἐκείνου τὸ
5 δημόσιον σφαλῇ. γνώμην[3] τε αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε τοῖς
τε παροῦσιν ἀρκεσθῆναι καὶ μηδαμῶς ἐπὶ πλεῖον
τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπαυξῆσαι ἐθελῆσαι· δυσφύλακτόν
τε γὰρ αὐτὴν ἔσεσθαι, καὶ κινδυνεύσειν ἐκ τούτου
6 καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἀπολέσαι ἔφη. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς
ὄντως ἀεί ποτε οὐ λόγῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργῳ
ἐτήρησε· παρὸν γοῦν αὐτῷ πολλὰ ἐκ τοῦ βαρ-
βαρικοῦ προσκτήσασθαι οὐκ ἠθέλησε.
34 Ταῦτα μὲν αἱ ἐντολαὶ εἶχον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἡ
ἐκφορὰ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο. κλίνη ἦν ἔκ τε ἐλέφαντος
καὶ χρυσοῦ πεποιημένη καὶ στρώμασιν ἁλουργοῖς
διαχρύσοις κεκοσμημένη· καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ μὲν
σῶμα κάτω που ἐν θήκῃ συνεκέκρυπτο, εἰκὼν
δὲ δή τις αὐτοῦ κηρίνη ἐν ἐπινικίῳ στολῇ ἐξεφαί-

[1] ἕνα supplied by Reim.

[2] τυραννίδος τις ἐπιθυμήσῃ L′, τυραννίδα τις ἐπιθεὶς εἴη C, τυραννίδα τις ἐπιθείη V.

[3] γνώμην CL′, γνώσειν V.

contained an account of military matters, of the revenues, and of the public expenditures, the amount of money in the treasuries, and everything else of the sort that had a bearing upon the administration of the empire; and the fourth had injunctions and commands for Tiberius and for the public. Among these injunctions was one to the effect that they should not free many slaves, lest they should fill the city with a promiscuous rabble; also that they should not enrol large numbers as citizens, in order that there should be a marked difference between themselves and the subject nations. He exhorted them to entrust the public business to all who had ability both to understand and to act, and never to let it depend on any one person; in this way no one would set his mind on a tyranny, nor would the State, on the other hand, go to ruin if one man fell. He advised them to be satisfied with their present possessions and under no conditions to wish to increase the empire to any greater dimensions. It would be hard to guard, he said, and this would lead to danger of their losing what was already theirs. This principle he had really always followed himself not only in speech but also in action; at any rate he might have made great acquisitions from the barbarian world, but he had not wished to do so. These, then, were his injunctions. A.D. 14

Then came his funeral. There was a couch made of ivory and gold and adorned with coverings of purple and gold. In it his body was hidden, in a coffin down below; but a wax image of him in triumphal garb was visible. This image was borne from the palace by the officials elected for the following year, and another of gold from the senate-house, and still

2 νετο. καὶ αὕτη μὲν ἐκ τοῦ παλατίου πρὸς τῶν ἐς νέωτα ἀρχόντων,[1] ἑτέρα δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου χρυσῆ, καὶ ἑτέρα αὖ ἐφ' ἅρματος πομπικοῦ ἤγετο. καὶ μετὰ ταύτας αἵ τε τῶν προπατόρων αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ τῶν ἄλλων συγγενῶν τῶν τεθνηκότων, πλὴν τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ὅτι ἐς τοὺς ἥρωας ἐσεγέγραπτο, αἵ τε τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων τῶν καὶ καθ' ὁτιοῦν πρωτευσάντων, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ
3 Ῥωμύλου ἀρξάμεναι, ἐφέροντο. καί τις καὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου τοῦ μεγάλου εἰκὼν ὤφθη, τά τε ἔθνη πάνθ' ὅσα προσεκτήσατο, ἐπιχωρίως σφίσιν ὡς ἕκαστα ἀπῃκασμένα ἐπέμφθη. κἀκ τούτου καὶ τὰ ἄλλα αὐτοῖς, ὅσα ἐν τοῖς ἄνω λόγοις εἴρηται,
4 ἐφέσπετο. προτεθείσης δὲ τῆς κλίνης ἐπὶ τοῦ δημηγορικοῦ βήματος, ἀπὸ μὲν ἐκείνου ὁ Δροῦσός τι ἀνέγνω, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἑτέρων ἐμβόλων τῶν Ἰουλιείων ὁ Τιβέριος δημόσιον δή τινα κατὰ δόγμα λόγον ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοιόνδε ἐπελέξατο·

35 "Ὅσα μὲν ἰδίᾳ καὶ παρὰ[2] τῶν συγγενῶν ἐπὶ τῷ θείῳ ἐκείνῳ Αὐγούστῳ λεχθῆναι ἔδει, Δροῦσος εἴρηκεν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ δημοσίας τρόπον τινὰ φωνῆς ἡ γερουσία καλῶς ποιοῦσα ἠξίωσεν αὐτόν, οἶδα μὲν προσήκοντα ἐμαυτῷ τὸν λόγον τόνδε
2 ἐπιτραπείς (τίς γὰρ ἂν δικαιότερον ἐμοῦ τοῦ καὶ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ διαδόχου τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔπαινον ἐνεχειρίσθη;) οὐ μέντοι καὶ θαρρεῖν ἔχω ὡς οὐ πολὺ καταδεέστερος καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας περὶ αὐτοῦ
3 βουλήσεως καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀξιώσεως ὤν. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις τισὶ λέξειν ἔμελλον, σφόδρα ἂν ἐφοβούμην μὴ τῷ ἐμῷ λόγῳ προσέχοντες τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ νομίσωσιν εἶναι· νῦν δὲ δὴ παραμυθεῖταί με ὅτι παρ' ὑμῖν τοῖς πάντα

another upon a triumphal chariot. Behind these came the images of his ancestors and of his deceased relatives (except that of Caesar, because he had been numbered among the demigods) and those of other Romans who had been prominent in any way, beginning with Romulus himself. An image of Pompey the Great was also seen, and all the nations he had acquired, each represented by a likeness which bore some local characteristic, appeared in the procession. After these followed all the other objects mentioned above. When the couch had been placed in full view on the rostra of the orators, Drusus read something from that place; and from the other rostra, that is the Julian, Tiberius delivered the following public address over the deceased, in pursuance of a decree: A.D. 14

"The words which required to be spoken in a private capacity by relatives over the Deified Augustus, Drusus has spoken. But the senate has wisely held him to be worthy of some kind of public eulogy as well; and while I recognize that the speech was fittingly entrusted to me (for to whom more justly than to me, his son and successor, could the duty of praising him be entrusted?), still I cannot feel any confidence that my abilities measure up in any wise either to your desires in the matter or to his merits. Indeed, if I were going to speak in the presence of strangers, I should be greatly concerned lest in following my speech they should believe his deeds to be no better than my account of them. But, as it is, I am encouraged by the thought that my words will

[1] M resumes with χόντων.

[2] παρὰ R. Steph., περὶ M.

τε αὐτὰ ἀκριβῶς εἰδόσι καὶ πάντων αὐτῶν
πεπειραμένοις, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων
τῶνδε αὐτὸν ἠξιωκόσι, τοὺς λόγους ποιήσομαι.
4 οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἐγὼ εἴπω καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου ἀρετὴν
κρινεῖτε, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν αὐτοὶ σύνιστε καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς
λόγοις βοηθήσετε, ἀναπληροῦντες τὸ ἐλλεῖπον
τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν γεγονότων, ὥστε κοινὸν κἂν τούτῳ
παρὰ πάντων τὸν ἔπαινον γενέσθαι, ἐμοῦ τε
ὥσπερ ἐν χορῷ τινὶ τὰ κεφάλαια ἀποσημαίνοντος,
5 καὶ ὑμῶν τὰ λοιπὰ συνεπηχούντων. οὐ γὰρ δὴ
καὶ ἐκεῖνο δέδοικα, μὴ ἤτοι ἐμοῦ[1] ἀσθένειάν τινα
καταγνῶτε, ὅτι μὴ δύναμαι τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὑμῶν
τυχεῖν, ἢ αὐτοὶ τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι ὑμᾶς τῆς
ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ φθονήσητε. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίσταται
τοῦθ', ὅτι οὔτ' ἂν πάντες ἄνθρωποι συνελθόντες
ἀξίους αὐτοῦ ἐπαίνους εἴποιεν, καὶ πάντες ἐθε-
6 λονταὶ τῶν νικητηρίων αὐτῷ παραχωρεῖτε, οὐχ
ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἂν ὑμῶν ἐξισωθείη οἱ φθονοῦντες,
ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ ὑπερέχοντι αὐτοῦ ἀγαλλό-
μενοι; ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν οὗτος μείζων ὑμῶν φανῇ,
τοσούτῳ μείζονα ὑμεῖς εὐηργετῆσθαι δόξετε, ὥστε
μὴ ἀφ' ὧν ἐλαττοῦσθε αὐτοῦ βασκανίαν ὑμῖν,
ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν εὖ πεπόνθατε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σεμνότητα
ἐγγενέσθαι.

36 "Ἄρξομαι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ὅθενπερ καὶ ἐκεῖνος τὰ
κοινὰ πράττειν ἤρξατο, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀπὸ τῆς
πρώτης ἡλικίας αὐτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἓν τῶν
μεγίστων τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἔργων ἐστίν, ὅτι ἄρτι
ἔκ τε τῶν παίδων ἐξεληλυθὼς καὶ μειρακιοῦσθαι
2 ἀρχόμενος τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον, καθ' ὃν καλῶς

[1] ἐμοῦ Reim., ἐμοὶ M.

be addressed to you who are thoroughly acquainted A.D. 14
with all his achievements, who have known them all through personal experience, and for that reason have held him to be worthy of these words of praise. For you will judge of his excellence, not from what I may say, but from what you yourselves know, and you will come to the aid of my discourse, supplying what is deficient by your memory of the events. Hence, in this respect also, his eulogy will be a public one, rendered by us all, as I, like the leader of a chorus, merely give out the leading words, while you join in and chant the rest. For of this I assuredly am not afraid—either that you will find it a weakness in me that I am unable to attain to your desires, or that you yourselves will be jealous of one whose virtue so far surpassed your own. For who does not realize that not all mankind assembled together could worthily sound his praises, and that you all of your own free will yield to him his triumphs, feeling no envy at the thought that not one of you could equal him, but rather rejoicing in the very fact of his surpassing greatness? For the greater he appears in comparison with you, the greater will seem the benefits which you have enjoyed, so that rancour will not be engendered in you because of your inferiority to him, but rather pride because of the blessings you have received at his hands.

"I shall begin at the point where he began his public career, that is, with his earliest manhood. For this, indeed, is one of the greatest achievements of Augustus, that at the time when he had just emerged from boyhood and was barely coming to man's estate, he devoted himself to his education just so long as public affairs were well managed by

τὰ δημόσια πρὸς τοῦ ἡμιθέου ἐκείνου Καίσαρος διῳκεῖτο, παιδείᾳ προσεῖχεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπιβουλευθέντος αὐτοῦ πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ἐταράχθη, τῷ τε πατρὶ ἅμα ἱκανῶς ἐτιμώρησε καὶ ὑμῖν ἀναγκαίως ἐπεκούρησε, μήτε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐχθρῶν φοβηθεὶς μήτε τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πραγμάτων δείσας μήτε τὴν
3 ὀλιγοετίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὀκνήσας. καίτοι τί τοιοῦτον ἢ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν ἢ Ῥωμύλος ὁ ἡμέτερος, οἵπερ που μάλιστα νεαροὶ ὄντες ἐλλόγιμόν τι ποιῆσαι δοκοῦσιν, ἔπραξαν; ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν ἐάσω, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παραβάλλειν οἱ καὶ παραδεικνύναι σφᾶς, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ὑμῖν μηδὲν ἧττον ἐμοῦ αὐτοὺς εἰδόσι, σμικροτέραν τὴν τοῦ
4 Αὐγούστου ἀρετὴν ποιεῖν νομισθῶ· πρὸς μόνον δὲ δὴ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου ἔργα παραθεωρῶν αὐτὸν ὀρθῶς μὲν ἂν κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιεῖν δόξαιμι, τοσοῦτον δ' ἂν τῆς προαιρέσεως διαμάρτοιμι ὅσον ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἔν τε παισὶν ὄφεις καὶ ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἔλαφόν τέ τινα καὶ κάπρον καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ λέοντα ἄκων καὶ ἐξ ἐπιτάξεως ἀπέκτεινεν,
5 οὗτος δὲ οὐκ ἐν θηρίοις ἀλλ' ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἐθελοντὴς καὶ πολεμῶν καὶ νομοθετῶν τό τε κοινὸν ἀκριβῶς ἔσωσε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλαμπρύνθη. τοιγάρτοι διὰ ταῦτα καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν εἵλεσθε καὶ ὕπατον ἀπεδείξατε[1] ἐκεῖνο τῆς ἡλικίας ἔχοντα ἐν ᾧ μηδὲ στρατεύεσθαί τινες ἐθέλουσιν.

37 "Αὕτη μὲν δὴ καὶ Αὐγούστῳ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ βίου ἀρχὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ τοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγου γέγονε· μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο ὁρῶν τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον καὶ κράτιστον καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἑαυτῷ συμφρονοῦν,

[1] ἀπεδείξατε Bs., ἐδείξατε M.

that demigod, Caesar, but when, after the conspiracy against Caesar, the whole State was thrown into confusion, he at one and the same time amply avenged his father and rendered much-needed assistance to you, neither fearing the multitude of his enemies nor dreading the magnitude of the responsibilities nor hesitating by reason of his own immaturity. Yet what deed like this can be cited of Alexander of Macedon or of our own Romulus, who perhaps above all others are thought to have performed some notable exploit in youth? But these men I shall pass over, lest from merely comparing them with him and using them as examples—and that among you who know them as well as I—I may be thought to be detracting from the virtues of Augustus. With Hercules alone and his exploits I might compare him, and should be thought justified in so doing, if that were all; but even so I should fall short of my purpose, in so far as Hercules in childhood only dealt with serpents, and when a man, with a stag or two and a boar which he killed,—oh, yes, and a lion, to be sure, albeit reluctantly and at somebody's behest; whereas Augustus, not among beasts, but among men, of his own free will, by waging war and enacting laws, literally saved the commonwealth and gained splendid renown for himself. Therefore it was, that in recognition of these services you chose him praetor and appointed him consul at an age when some are unwilling to serve even as common soldiers. A.D. 14

"This then was the beginning of Augustus' political life, and this is likewise the beginning of my account of him. Soon afterwards, seeing that the largest and best element of the people and of the senate was in

στασιωτείαις[1] δέ τισι τόν τε Λέπιδον καὶ τὸν
Ἀντώνιον τόν τε Σέξτον καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον τόν τε
2 Κάσσιον χρωμένους, καὶ[2] φοβηθεὶς μὴ πολλοῖς
ἅμα πολέμοις, καὶ τούτοις ἐμφυλίοις, ἡ πόλις
συνενεχθεῖσα καὶ διασπασθῇ καὶ ἐκτρυχωθῇ
ὥστε μηδένα ἔτι τρόπον ἀνενεγκεῖν δυνηθῆναι,
φρονιμώτατα καὶ δημωφελέστατα αὐτοὺς διέ-
3 θηκεν· τούς τε γὰρ ἰσχύοντας καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ
ἄστει ἐπικειμένους προσλαβὼν κατεπολέμησε
μετ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ἑτέρους, καὶ τούτων ὑπεξαιρε-
θέντων αὖθις αὖ καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἠλευθέρωσεν
ἡμᾶς, ἑλόμενος μὲν ὀλίγους τινὰς καὶ ἄκων σφίσι
προέσθαι ὥστε τοὺς πλείους διασῶσαι, ἑλόμενος
δὲ καθ' ἑκάστους αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδείως πως προσ-
4 ενεχθῆναι ὥστε μὴ πᾶσιν ἅμα πολεμῆσαι. ἐξ
ὧν ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὐδὲν ἰδίᾳ ἐκέρδανεν, ἡμᾶς δὲ δὴ
πάντας περιφανῶς ὠφέλησε. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ
τοὺς πολέμους τούς τε ἐμφυλίους καὶ τοὺς ὀθνεί-
ους ἔργα αὐτοῦ τί ἄν τις μακρηγοροίη, ἄλλως τε
καὶ διότι τὰ μὲν ὤφελε μηδ' ἀρχὴν γεγονέναι, τὰ
δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐπικτηθέντων πολὺ ἐναργεστέραν τὴν
5 ὠφελίαν παντὸς λόγου παρέχεται; καὶ προσέτι
καὶ τῆς τύχης τὸ πλεῖστον ὄντα, καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν
μὲν πολιτῶν πολλῶν δὲ καὶ συμμάχων κατορθω-
θέντα, καὶ κοινὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῷ
ἔχει, καὶ τάχα ἂν καὶ ἑτέρων τινῶν πράξεσι
6 παραβληθείη. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν παραλείψω· καὶ
γάρ που πολλαχῇ αὐτὰ καὶ γεγραμμένα καὶ
τετυπωμένα καὶ ὁρᾶν καὶ ἀναγιγνώσκειν δύνασθε·
ἃ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἔργα

[1] στασιωτείαις Dind., στασιωτίαις M.

accord with him, but that Lepidus and Antony, Sextus, Brutus, and Cassius were resorting to factious machinations, and fearing the city might become involved in many wars at once, and civil wars too, and thus be torn asunder and exhausted beyond all possibility of recovery, he accordingly dealt with them with the greatest prudence and to the greatest public good. For he first attached to himself the powerful leaders who were menacing the very existence of the city, and with them fought the others until he had made an end of them; and when these were out of the way, he in turn freed us from the former. He chose, though against his will, to surrender a few to their wrath so that he might save the majority, and he chose to assume a friendly attitude towards each of them in turn so as not to have to fight with them all at once. From all this he derived no personal gain, but aided us all in a signal manner. And yet why should one dwell on his exploits in the wars, whether civil or foreign, especially when the former ought never to have occurred at all, and the latter by the conquests gained show the benefits they brought better than any words can tell? Moreover, since these exploits depended largely upon chance and their success was due to the aid of many citizens and many allies, he must share with them the credit for them, and these achievements might possibly be compared with the exploits of some other men. These, accordingly, I shall omit; for they are described and depicted in many a book and painting, so that you can both read and behold them. But of the deeds which are in a peculiar sense those of Augustus A.D. 14

[2] καὶ Xyl., καὶ μὴ M.

ἐστί, καὶ μήτ' ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἀνθρώπων πέπρακται, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν οὐ μόνον ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν κινδύνων περιπεποίηκεν ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐπορωτέραν καὶ δυνατωτέραν ἐξείργασται, ταῦτ'
7 ἐρῶ μόνα· ἐκείνῳ τε γὰρ εὔκλειαν ἐξαίρετον λεχθέντα οἴσει, καὶ ὑμῶν τοῖς μὲν πρεσβυτέροις ἡδονὴν ἄμεμπτον ποιήσει, τοῖς δὲ νεωτέροις διδασκαλίαν ἀκριβῆ τοῦ τε τρόπου καὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τῆς πολιτείας παρέξει.

38 "Ὁ τοίνυν Αὔγουστος οὗτος, ὃν δι' αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ταύτης ἠξιώσατε, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων ἀπηλλάγη καὶ πράξας καὶ παθὼν οὐχ ὅσα αὐτὸς ἤθελεν ἀλλ' ὅσα τῷ δαιμονίῳ ἔδοξεν, πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς πλείους τῶν ἀντιστάντων οἱ καὶ περιγενομένων ἐκ τῶν παρατάξεων ἔσωσεν, ἐν μηδενὶ τὸν Σύλλαν μιμη-
2 σάμενος τὸν εὐτυχῆ ὀνομαζόμενον. καὶ ἵνα μὴ πάντας αὐτοὺς καταλέγω, τίς οὐκ οἶδε τὸν Σόσσιον, τίς τὸν Σκαῦρον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Σέξτου, τίς τὸν Λέπιδον αὐτόν, ὃς καὶ ἐπεβίω τοσοῦτον τῇ ἥττῃ χρόνον καὶ ἀρχιέρεως διὰ παντὸς αὐτοῦ ὢν διετέλεσεν; ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς συνεξετασθέντας οἱ πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις δωρεαῖς τιμήσας οὔθ' ὑπερήφανόν τι πράττειν οὔθ'
3 ὑβρίζειν εἴασεν. ἀλλ' ἴστε γὰρ ἀκριβῶς καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τούς τε ἄλλους καὶ τὸν Μαικήναν καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν, ὥστε με μηδὲν μηδὲ τούτους ἐξαριθμήσασθαι δεῖσθαι. δύο μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔσχεν οἷα ἐν οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἑνὶ ἐγένετο. ἤδη γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ ἐχθρῶν τινες ἐφείσαντο καὶ ἕτεροι τοῖς ἑταίροις ἀσελγαίνειν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψαν· ἀλλὰ ἀμφότερα τῷ αὐτῷ ἅμα διὰ πάντων ὁμοίως οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτῳ ποτὲ

himself, deeds which have never been performed by any other man, and have not only caused our city to survive after many dangers of every kind but have rendered it more prosperous and powerful,—of these alone I shall speak. For the recounting of them will not only confer upon him a unique glory, but will also afford the older men among you a pleasure unalloyed while giving the younger men most excellent instruction in the character and constitution of our government. A.D. 14

"This Augustus, then, whom you deemed worthy of this title for the very reasons just cited, as soon as he had rid himself of the civil wars, in which his actions and his fortunes were not such as he himself desired but as Heaven decreed, first of all spared the lives of most of his opponents who had survived the various battles, thus in no wise imitating Sulla, who was called the Fortunate. Not to recount them all, who does not know about Sosius, about Scaurus, the brother of Sextus, and particularly about Lepidus, who lived so long a time after his defeat and continued to be high priest throughout his whole life? Again, though he honoured his companions in arms with many great gifts, he did not permit them to indulge in any arrogant or wanton behaviour. But, indeed, you know full well the various men in this category, especially Maecenas and Agrippa, so that in their case also I may omit the enumeration. These two qualities Augustus possessed which were never united in any other one man. There have, indeed, been conquerors, I know, who have spared their enemies, and others who have not permitted their companions to give way to license; but both virtues combined have never before been consistently and uniformly found

4 ἄλλῳ ὑπῆρξε. τεκμήριον δέ, Σύλλας μὲν καὶ Μάριος καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἀντιπολεμησάντων σφίσιν ἤχθηραν· τί γὰρ δεῖ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν τῶν μικροτέρων μνημονεύειν; Πομπήιος δὲ καὶ Καῖσαρ τούτου μὲν ἀπέσχοντο ὥς γε ἐπίπαν εἰπεῖν, τοῖς δὲ δὴ φίλοις οὐκ ὀλίγα παρὰ τὰ
5 ἑαυτῶν ἤθη ποιεῖν ἐφῆκαν. ἀλλ' οὗτος οὕτως ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν ἔμιξε καὶ ἐκέρασεν ὥστε τοῖς τε ἐναντιωθεῖσίν οἱ νίκην τὴν ἧτταν ἀποφῆναι καὶ τοῖς συναγωνισαμένοις εὐτυχῆ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀποδεῖξαι.

39 "Ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ τὸ μὲν στασιωτικὸν πᾶν τὸ περιλειφθὲν φιλανθρωπίᾳ καταστήσας, τὸ δὲ στρατιωτικὸν τὸ κρατῆσαν εὐεργεσίᾳ μετριάσας, καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἂν ἐκ τούτων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων τῶν τε χρημάτων μόνος ἀναμφιλόγως
2 κύριος ἁπάντων, ὧν γε καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγεγόνει, εἶναι, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τις ἰατρὸς ἀγαθὸς σῶμα νενοσηκὸς παραλαβὼν καὶ ἐξιασάμενος, ἀπέδωκε πάντα ὑμῖν ὑγιᾶ ποιήσας. καίτοι τοῦτο[1] ἡλίκον ἐστί, μάλιστα ἂν ἐξ ἐκείνου τεκμήραισθε[2] ὅτι καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ τὸν Μέτελλον τὸν τότε ἀνθήσαντα ἐπήνεσαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, ἐπειδὴ τὰς δυνάμεις μεθ' ὧν
3 ἐπολέμησαν ἐθελονταὶ διαφῆκαν. εἰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι μικράν τινα ἰσχὺν καὶ ταύτην πρόσκαιρον ἔχοντες, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀντιπάλους τοὺς οὐκ ἐπιτρέψοντάς σφισιν ἄλλο τι ποιῆσαι κεκτημένοι, τοῦτό τε[3] ἔπραξαν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔπαινον

[1] καίτοι τοῦτο Rk., καὶ τοιοῦτον M.
[2] τεκμήραισθε H. Steph., τεκμηίρασθαι M.
[3] τε Rk., γε M.

in one and the same man. For example, Sulla and Marius cherished hatred toward even the sons of those who had fought against them; and why need I mention the minor instances? Pompey and Caesar refrained in general from such hatred, yet permitted their friends to do not a few things that were contrary to their own principles. But this man so combined and fused the two qualities, that to his adversaries he made defeat seem victory, and to his comrades in arms proved that virtue is blest by fortune. A.D. 14

"After these achievements, and when by kindness he had allayed all that remained of factional discord and by generosity had moderated the victorious soldiery, he might on the strength of this record and of the weapons and the money at his command have been indisputably the sole lord of all, as, indeed, he had become by the very course of events. Nevertheless, he refused; and like a good physician, who takes in hand a disease-ridden body and heals it, he first restored to health and then gave back to you the whole body politic. The significance of this act you may judge best by recalling that our fathers praised Pompey and the Metellus who flourished at that time[1] because they voluntarily disbanded the forces with which they had waged war; for if they, who possessed only a small force gathered for the occasion, and, besides, were confronted by rivals who would not allow them to do otherwise, acted thus and received praise for doing so, how could one

[1] Q. Caecilius Metellus, the conqueror of Crete, who was content with the title Creticus for his reward; see Florus iii. 7. He is described as Pompey's contemporary in order to distinguish him from the many other famous Metelli.

ἴσχον, ποῦ δὴ δύναιτ' ἄν τις τῆς Αὐγούστου
4 μεγαλοφροσύνης ἐφικέσθαι, ὅστις πάσας μὲν τὰς δυνάμεις ὑμῶν τηλικαύτας οὔσας ἔχων, πάντων δὲ τῶν χρημάτων πλείστων ὄντων κρατῶν, καὶ μήτε φοβούμενός τινα μήθ' ὑποπτεύων, ἀλλ' ἐξὸν αὐτῷ πάντων συνεπαινούντων μόνῳ ἄρχειν, οὐκ ἠξίωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐς τὸ μέσον ὑμῖν κατέθηκεν;

5 "Ὅθενπερ καὶ ὑμεῖς, καλῶς ποιοῦντες καὶ ὀρθῶς φρονοῦντες, οὐκ ἠνέσχεσθε οὐδὲ[1] ἐπετρέψατε αὐτῷ ἰδιωτεῦσαι, ἀλλ' ἅτε[2] εὖ εἰδότες ὅτι δημοκρατία μὲν οὔποτ' ἂν τηλικούτοις πράγμασιν ἁρμόσειεν, προστασία δὲ ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς μάλιστ' ἂν αὐτὰ σώσειεν, οὔτε λόγῳ μὲν[3] ἐπανελθεῖν ἐς τὴν αὐτονομίαν ἔργῳ δὲ ἐς τοὺς στασιασμοὺς
6 ἠθελήσατε, καὶ ἐκεῖνον, ὃν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἔργοις ἐδεδοκιμάκειτε, προκρίναντες ἠναγκάσατε χρόνον γέ τινα ὑμῶν προστῆναι. ἐξ οὗ δὴ πολὺ μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ πειραθέντες, καὶ δεύτερον αὖθις καὶ τρίτον τέταρτόν τε καὶ πέμπτον ἐξεβιάσασθε αὐτὸν ἐν
40 τῇ τῶν κοινῶν διαχειρίσει ἐμμεῖναι. καὶ μάλα εἰκότως· τίς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἕλοιτο ἀπραγμόνως σῴζεσθαι καὶ ἀκινδύνως εὐδαιμονεῖν, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν τῶν τῆς πολιτείας ἀφθόνως ἀπολαύειν, ταῖς δὲ δὴ φροντίσι ταῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μὴ συνεῖναι;

"Τίς δ' ἂν ἄμεινον τοῦ Αὐγούστου τῆς ἰδίας οἰκίας μόνης, μήτι γε καὶ ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων
2 τοσούτων,[4] ἦρξεν; ὅστις τὰ μὲν ἐπίπονα καὶ ἐμπολέμια ἔθνη αὐτὸς καὶ φρουρήσειν καὶ σώσειν[5]

[1] οὐδὲ Bk., οὔτε M.
[2] ἀλλ' ἅτε R. Steph., ἀλλά τε M.

fittingly characterize the magnanimity of Augustus? A.D. 14
He possessed all your armies, whose numbers you know; he was master of all your funds, so vast in amount; he had no one to fear or suspect, but might have ruled alone with the approval of all; yet he saw fit not to do this, but laid the arms, the provinces, and the money at your feet.

"You, therefore, on your part acted well and prudently, when you withheld your assent and did not permit him to retire to private life; for you knew well that a democracy could never accommodate itself to interests so vast, but that the leadership of one man would be most likely to conserve them, and so refused to return to what was nominally independence but really factional discord; and making choice of him, whom you had tested by his actual deeds and approved, you constrained him for a time at least to be your leader. And when you had thus proved him far better than before, you compelled him for a second, a third, a fourth, and a fifth time to continue in the management of affairs. And this was but fitting; for who would not choose to be safe without trouble, to be prosperous without danger, to enjoy without stint the blessings of government while escaping the life of constant anxiety for its maintenance?

"Who was there that could rule better than Augustus even his own house, to say nothing of so many other human beings? He it was who undertook as his own task to guard and preserve the

[3] *οὔτε λόγῳ μὲν* Rk., *λόγῳ μὲν οὔτε* M.
[4] *τοσούτων* Leuncl., *τόσουτον* M.
[5] *σώσειν* R. Steph., *σώζειν* M.

ὑπεδέξατο, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τὰ εἰρηναῖα καὶ ἀκίνδυνα
ὑμῖν ἀπέδωκεν, στρατιώτας τε τοσούτους ἀθανά-
τους πρὸς τὸ προπολεμεῖν ὑμῶν τρέφων οὐδενὶ
τῶν σφετέρων λυπηροὺς αὐτοὺς ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ'
ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ὀθνεῖον φύλακας φοβερωτάτους, πρὸς
δὲ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀόπλους ἀπολέμους εἶναι παρ-
εσκεύασε.
3 "Καὶ μέντοι καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν οὔτε ἐν ταῖς
ἡγεμονίαις τὴν τοῦ κλήρου τύχην ἀφείλετο, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τὰ ἆθλά σφισι τῆς ἀρετῆς προσπαρέσχεν,
οὔτε ἐν ταῖς διαγνώμαις τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς δια-
ψηφίσεως κατέλυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν
4 τῆς παρρησίας προσέθηκεν.[1] ἔκ τε τοῦ δήμου τὸ
δύσκριτον ἐν ταῖς διαγνώσεσιν ἐς τὴν τῶν δικα-
στηρίων ἀκρίβειαν μεταστήσας, τό τε ἀξίωμα
τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν αὐτῷ ἐτήρησε, κἀν ταύταις τὸ
φιλότιμον ἀντὶ τοῦ φιλονείκου σφᾶς ἐξεπαίδευσε,
κἀκ τῶν σπουδαρχιῶν αὐτῶν τὸ πλεονεκτικὸν
ἐκκόψας τὸ εὔδοξον αὐτοῖς ἀντέδωκε. τά τε
ἑαυτοῦ χρήματα σωφρόνως ἐπαύξων ἐς τὴν δη-
μοσίαν χρείαν ἀνήλισκεν, καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ὡς
5 ἰδίων κηδόμενος ὡς ἀλλοτρίων ἀπείχετο. καὶ
πάντα μὲν τὰ ἔργα τὰ πεπονηκότα ἐπισκευάσας
οὐδενὸς τῶν ποιησάντων αὐτὰ τὴν δόξαν ἀπ-
εστέρησε· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ καινῆς, τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ
ἑαυτοῦ ὀνόματι τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέρων, τὰ μὲν
αὐτὸς κατεσκεύασε τὰ δὲ ἐκείνοις οἰκοδομῆσαι
ἐπέτρεψε, τὸ τῷ κοινῷ χρήσιμον διὰ πάντων
ἰδών, ἀλλ' οὐ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εὐκλείας ἰδίᾳ τισι
φθονήσας.

[1] προσέθηκεν Pflugk, προστέθεικεν M.

provinces that were troublesome and at war, restoring to you such as were peaceful and free from danger; and though he supported so vast a number of soldiers as a permanent force to fight in your behalf, he permitted them to annoy no Roman citizen, but made them most formidable protectors against alien races while being to the people at home unarmed and unwarlike. A.D. 14

"Furthermore, as regards the members of the senate, he did not take away from them the right to cast lots for the governorship of provinces, but even offered them additional prizes as a reward for excellence; nor in connection with the senate's decrees did he do away with their privilege of voting, but even added safeguards for their freedom of speech. From the people he transferred matters difficult of decision to the strict jurisdiction of the courts, but preserved to them the dignity of the elections; and at these elections he inculcated in the citizens the love of honour rather than the love of party strife, and eliminating the element of greed from their office-seeking, he put in its place the regard for reputation. His own wealth, which he enhanced by sober living, he spent for the public needs; with the public funds he was as careful as if they were his own, but would not touch them as belonging to others. He repaired all the public works that had suffered injury, but deprived none of the original builders of the glory of their founding. He also erected many new buildings, some in his own name and some in others', or else permitted these others to erect them, constantly having an eye to the public good, but grudging no one the private fame attaching to these services.

6 "Τοῖς τε τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ὑβρίσμασιν ἀπα-
ραιτήτως ἐπεξιὼν τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἁμαρτήματα
ἀνθρωπίνως μετεχειρίζετο καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀρετήν
τινα ἔχοντας ἀφθόνως εἴα οἱ παρισοῦσθαι, τοὺς
7 δ' ἄλλως πως βιοῦντας οὐκ ἤλεγχεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ
τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων αὐτῷ μόνους τοὺς μηδ'
ἂν[1] ἑαυτοῖς λυσιτελούντως ζήσαντας ἐδικαίωσε,
τοὺς δὲ δὴ λοιποὺς οὕτω διέθηκεν ὥστε παμπληθῆ
χρόνον μηδένα μήτ' οὖν ἀληθῆ μήτε ψευδῆ αἰτίαν
ἐπιθέσεως λαβεῖν. θαυμαστὸν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν εἰ
καὶ ἐπεβουλεύθη ποτέ· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' οἱ θεοὶ
πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἀρέσκουσιν· ἡ δὲ δὴ τῶν καλῶς
ἀρχόντων ἀρετὴ οὐκ ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἕτεροι κακουργή-
σωσιν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἂν αὐτοὶ εὖ[2] ποιήσωσι
φαίνεται.

41 "Εἴρηκα, ὦ Κυρῖται, τὰ μέγιστα καὶ ἐκπρε-
πέστατα, ὥς γε ἐν κεφαλαίοις διελθεῖν, ἐπεὶ ἄν
γέ τις πάντα ἀκριβῶς καθ' ἕκαστον ἀναριθ-
μήσασθαι ἐθελήσῃ, παμπόλλων ἂν ἡμερῶν δεη-
θείη. πρὸς δὲ καὶ εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι παρ' ἐμοῦ μὲν
μόνα ταῦτα ἀκηκοότες ἔσεσθε, παρ' ἑαυτοῖς δὲ
δὴ καὶ τἆλλα ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντα ἀναμνησθήσεσθε,
ὥστε τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐμὲ δοκεῖν εἰρηκέναι.
2 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλως κόμπου τινὸς ἕνεκα οὔτ' ἐγὼ τὸν
περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον[3] οὔθ' ὑμεῖς τὴν ἀκρόασιν πε-
ποίησθε, ἀλλ' ὅπως τὰ πεπραγμένα αὐτῷ πολλὰ
καὶ ἀγαθὰ ὄντα ἀειμνήστου παρὰ ταῖς ψυχαῖς
3 ὑμῶν εὐκλείας τύχῃ. τίς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν τῶν
βουλευτῶν αὐτοῦ μνημονεύσειεν; ὧν τὸ φαῦλον

[1] μηδ' ἂν Bk. (?), μηδὲν M. [2] εὖ supplied by Bk.

[3] ἕνεκα οὔτ' ἐγὼ τὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον Bk., ἐν ἑτέροις τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον M.

"Wantonness on the part of his next of kin he followed up relentlessly,[1] but the offences of others he treated with human kindness. Those who had traits of excellence he ungrudgingly allowed to approach his own standard, but he did not try to censor those whose standards of life were different. In fact, even in the case of such as conspired against him, he punished only those whose lives would have been of no profit even to themselves, while he treated the rest in such a way that for years afterward they could find no pretext true or false for attacking him. That he was, indeed, conspired against at times is not surprising, for even the gods do not please all alike; but the excellence of good rulers is discerned, not in the villainies of others, but in their own good deeds. A.D. 14

"I have spoken, Quirites, only of his greatest and most striking characteristics, and in a rather summary way; for if one wished to enumerate all his qualities minutely one by one, he would require many days. Furthermore, I know well that though you will have heard from me only these few facts, yet they will lead you to recall in your own minds all the rest, so that you will feel that I have in a manner related those also. For neither I, in what I have said about him, have been moved by a spirit of vain boasting, nor have you in listening; rather my purpose has been that his many noble achievements should gain the meed of everlasting glory in your souls. Yet how can one refrain from mentioning his senators? Without giving offence

[1] Said with particular reference, perhaps, to his daughter Julia; see lv. 10 and 13. But see also the list of his freedmen given in Suet. *Aug.* 67.

τὸ ἐκ τῶν στάσεων ἐπιπολάσαν ἀλύπως ἀφελὼν τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτῷ τε τούτῳ ἐσέμνυνε καὶ τῇ αὐξήσει τοῦ τιμήματος ἐμεγάλυνε τῇ τε δόσει τῶν χρημάτων ἐπλούτισεν· οἷς ἐξ ἴσου καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν γνώμην ἐδίδου, καὶ μεθ' ὧν συμμεθίστατο· οἷς πάντα τὰ μέγιστα καὶ ἀναγκαιότατα ἀεί[1] ποτε ἢ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἢ καὶ οἴκοι διά τε τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τοῦ σώματος, παραλαμ-
4 βάνων ἄλλοτε ἄλλους, ἐπεκοίνου. τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν τῶν λοιπῶν Ῥωμαίων, οἷς ἔργα, χρήματα, ἀγῶνας, πανηγύρεις, ἄδειαν, ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἀσφάλειαν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων οὐδ' ἀπὸ τῶν κακούργων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου οὐχ ὅτι μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀλλὰ καὶ νύκτωρ συμπιπτόντων, παρεσκεύασε. τίς τῶν συμμάχων, οἷς ἀκίνδυνον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, οἷς ἀζήμιον τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐποίησε. τίς τῶν ὑπηκόων, ὧν[2]
5 οὐδεὶς οὔθ' ὑβρίσθη ποτὲ οὔτε ἐπηρεάσθη. πῶς δ' ἄν τις ἐπιλάθοιτο ἀνδρὸς ἰδίᾳ μὲν πένητος δημοσίᾳ δὲ πλουσίου, καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μὲν οἰκονομικοῦ πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀναλωτικοῦ γενομένου, καὶ αὐτοῦ μὲν πάντα ἀεὶ καὶ πόνον καὶ κίνδυνον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὑπομείναντος, ὑμᾶς δὲ δὴ μηδ' ὅσον προπέμψαι ποι αὐτὸν ἀπιόντα ἢ καὶ ἀπαντῆσαί οἱ ἐπανιόντι ταλαιπωρήσαντος, καὶ ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἑορταῖς καὶ τὸν δῆμον οἴκαδε προσδεξαμένου, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡμέραις καὶ τὴν γερου-
6 σίαν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀσπασαμένου; πῶς τοῦ τε πλήθους καὶ τῆς ἀκριβείας ἅμα τῶν νόμων τῶν τοῖς μὲν ἀδικουμένοις αὔταρκες παραμύθιον

[1] ἀεί Xyl., εἴ M.
[2] ὧν supplied by R. Steph.

he removed from their number the scum that had A.D. 14
come to the surface from the factions, and by this very act exalted the remainder, magnified it by increasing the property requirement, and enriched it by grants of money; he voted on an equality with his colleagues and with them took part in a division of the house; he always communicated to them all the greatest and most important matters, either in the senate chamber or else at his house, whither he summoned different members at different times because of his age and bodily infirmity. How can one refrain from mentioning the Roman people at large? For them he provided public works, largesses, games, festivals, amnesty, food in abundance, and safety, not only from the enemy and from evildoers, but even from the acts of Heaven, both those that befall by day and those also that befall by night. There are, again, the allies: for them he freed their liberty of its dangers and their alliance of its costs. There are the subject nations also: no one of them was ever treated with insolence or abuse. How could one forget to mention a man who in private life was poor, in public life rich; who with himself was frugal, but towards others lavish of his means; who always endured every toil and danger himself on your behalf, but would not inflict upon you the hardship of so much as escorting him when he left the city or of meeting him when he returned; who on holidays admitted even the populace to his house, but on other days greeted even the senate only in its chamber? How could one pass over the vast number of his laws and their precision? They contained for the wronged an all-

τοῖς δ' ἀδικοῦσιν οὐκ ἀπάνθρωπον τιμωρίαν ἐχόντων; πῶς τῶν γερῶν τῶν τοῖς γαμοῦσι καὶ τεκνοῦσι προκειμένων; πῶς τῶν ἄθλων τῶν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἄνευ τινὸς ἑτέρου βλάβης δεδομένων;
7 τί δέ; τὸ τοῖς ἅπαξ ἀναγκαίως κτηθεῖσιν ἀρκεσθῆναι αὐτὸν καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον προσκατεργάσασθαι ἐθελῆσαι, ἐξ οὗ πλειόνων ἂν δόξαντες ἄρχειν καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἀπωλέσαμεν, ἢ τὸ τοῖς μὲν πάνυ φίλοις καὶ συνησθῆναι ἀεί ποτε αὐτὸν καὶ συλλυπηθῆναι
8 καὶ συμπαῖξαι καὶ συσπουδάσαι, πᾶσι δ' ἁπλῶς τοῖς ὠφέλιμόν τι ἐπινοῆσαι δυνασθεῖσι παρρησιάσασθαι ἐπιτρέψαι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀληθιζομένους τινὰ ἐπαινέσαι, τοὺς δὲ κολακεύοντας μισῆσαι, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων πολλοῖς χαρίσασθαι, πάντα δὲ τὰ καταλειφθέντα αὐτῷ ὑπό τινων παῖδας ἐχόντων αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ἀποδοῦναι, ποίᾳ ἂν ἐπιλησμοσύνῃ φθαρείη;

9 "Τοιγαροῦν διὰ ταῦτα εἰκότως καὶ προστάτην αὐτὸν καὶ πατέρα δημόσιον ἐποιήσασθε, καὶ ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς καὶ ὑπατείαις πλείσταις ἐπεγαυρώσατε, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ ἥρωα ἀπεδείξατε καὶ ἀθάνατον ἀπεφήνατε. οὔκουν οὐδὲ πενθεῖν αὐτὸν ἡμῖν πρέπει, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν σῶμα αὐτοῦ τῇ φύσει ἤδη ἀποδοῦναι, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ὡς καὶ θεοῦ ἀεὶ ἀγάλλειν."

42 Τιβέριος μὲν ταῦτα ἀνέγνω, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τήν τε κλίνην οἱ αὐτοὶ οἵπερ καὶ πρότερον ἀράμενοι διὰ τῶν ἐπινικίων πυλῶν κατὰ τὰ τῇ βουλῇ δόξαντα διεκόμισαν, παρῆν δὲ καὶ συνεξέφερεν

sufficient consolation, and for the wrongdoers a not inhuman punishment. Or his rewards offered to those who married and had children? Or the prizes given to the soldiers without injury to anyone else? Or, again, shall I not tell how satisfied he was with our possessions acquired once for all under the compulsion of necessity, but refused to subjugate additional territory, the acquisition of which might, while seeming to give us a wider sway, have entailed the loss of even what we had? Or how he always shared the joys and sorrows, the jests and earnestness of his intimate friends, and allowed all, in a word, who could make any useful suggestion to speak their minds freely? Or how he praised those who spoke the truth, but hated flatterers? Or how he bestowed upon many people large sums from his own means, and how, when anything was bequeathed to him by men who had children, he restored it all to the children? Could a speaker's forgetfulness cause all these things to be blotted out? A.D. 14

"It was for all this, therefore, that you, with good reason, made him your leader and a father of the people, that you honoured him with many marks of esteem and with ever so many consulships, and that you finally made him a demigod and declared him to be immortal. Hence it is fitting also that we should not mourn for him, but that, while we now at last give his body back to Nature, we should glorify his spirit, as that of a god, for ever."

Such was the eulogy read by Tiberius. Afterwards the same men as before took up the couch and carried it through the triumphal gateway, according to a decree of the senate. Present and taking part in the funeral procession were the senate and the

αὐτὸν ἥ τε γερουσία καὶ ἡ ἱππάς, αἵ τε γυναῖκες αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ δορυφορικόν, οἵ τε λοιποὶ πάντες
2 ὡς εἰπεῖν οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε ὄντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν πυρὰν τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ ἐνετέθη, πρῶτοι[1] μὲν οἱ ἱερῆς πάντες περιῆλθον αὐτήν, ἔπειτα δὲ οἵ τε ἱππῆς, οἵ τε ἐκ τοῦ τέλους καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, καὶ τὸ ὁπλιτικὸν τὸ φρουρικὸν περιέδραμον, πάντα τὰ νικητήρια, ὅσα τινὲς αὐτῶν ἐπ' ἀριστείᾳ ποτὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ εἰλήφεσαν, ἐπιβάλ-
3 λοντες αὐτῇ.[2] κἀκ τούτου δᾷδας ἑκατόνταρχοι, ὥς που τῇ βουλῇ ἐδόκει,[3] λαβόντες ὑφῆψαν αὐτήν· καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀνηλίσκετο, ἀετὸς δέ τις ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀφεθεὶς ἀνίπτατο ὡς καὶ δὴ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναφέρων. πραχθέντων
4 δὲ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἀπηλλάγησαν, ἡ δὲ δὴ Λιουία κατὰ χώραν πέντε ἡμέραις[4] μετὰ τῶν πρώτων ἱππέων μείνασα τά τε ὀστᾶ αὐτοῦ συνελέξατο καὶ ἐς τὸ μνημεῖον κατέθετο.

43 Τὸ δὲ δὴ πένθος τὸ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐνιαυτῷ ὅλῳ κατὰ ψήφισμα ἐποιήσαντο,[5] τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἐν μὲν τῷ παραχρῆμα οὐ πολλοὶ ὕστερον δὲ πάντες ἔσχον. εὐπρόσοδός τε γὰρ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἦν, καὶ ἐς χρήματα πολλοῖς ἐπήρκει, τούς τε φίλους ἰσχυρῶς ἐτίμα, καὶ ταῖς παρρησίαις
2 αὐτῶν ὑπερέχαιρε. τεκμήριον δὲ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις[6] ὅτι τοῦ Ἀθηνοδώρου ἐν δίφρῳ ποτὲ καταστέγῳ ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ γυναικός

[1] πρῶτοι M, πρῶτον Xiph. [2] αὐτῇ Oddey, αὐτῷ M Xiph.
[3] ἐδόκει Xyl., ἐδεδόκει M. [4] ἡμέραις M, ἡμέρας Xiph.
[5] ἐποιήσαντο St., ἐποίησαν M.

equestrian order, their wives, the pretorian guard, and practically all the others who were in the city at the time. When the body had been placed on the pyre in the Campus Martius, all the priests marched round it first; and then the knights, not only those belonging to the equestrian order but the others[1] as well, and the infantry from the garrison ran round it; and they cast upon it all the triumphal decorations that any of them had ever received from him for any deed of valour. Next the centurions took torches, conformably to a decree of the senate, and lighted the pyre from beneath. So it was consumed, and an eagle released from it flew aloft, appearing to bear his spirit to heaven. When these ceremonies had been performed, all the other people departed; but Livia remained on the spot for five days in company with the most prominent knights, and then gathered up his bones and placed them in his tomb. A.D. 14

The mourning required by law was observed only for a few days by the men, but for a whole year by the women, in accordance with a decree. Real grief was not in the hearts of many at the time, but later was felt by all. For Augustus had been accessible to all alike and was accustomed to aid many persons in the matter of money. He showed great honour to his friends, and delighted exceedingly when they frankly spoke their opinions. One instance, in addition to those already related, occurred in the case of Athenodorus. This man was once brought into his room in a covered litter, as if he

[1] *i. e.* cavalrymen.

[6] εἰρημένοις M Xiph., προειρημένοις cod. Peir.

τινος ἐσκομισθέντος, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ξιφήρους ἐκπηδήσαντος, καὶ προσεπειπόντος "οὐ φοβῇ μή τίς σε οὕτως ἐσελθὼν ἀποκτείνῃ;" οὐχ ὅπως
3 ὠργίσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ χάριν αὐτῷ ἔγνω. ταῦτά τε οὖν αὐτοῦ ἀνεμιμνήσκοντο, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τοῖς λυπήσασί τι αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀκρατῶς ὠργίζετο, τήν τε πίστιν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς οὐκ ἀξίους αὐτῆς ἐτήρει· Κοροκότταν[1] γοῦν[2] τινα λῃστὴν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ ἀκμάσαντα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὕτω δι' ὀργῆς ἔσχεν ὥστε[3] τῷ ζωγρήσαντι αὐτὸν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἐπικηρῦξαι, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ ἑκών οἱ προσῆλθεν, οὔτε τι κακὸν εἰργάσατο καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῷ ἀργυρίῳ ἐκείνῳ ἐπλούτισε.

4 Διά τε οὖν ταῦτα, καὶ ὅτι τὴν μοναρχίαν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ μίξας τό τε ἐλεύθερόν σφισιν ἐτήρησε καὶ τὸ κόσμιον τό τε ἀσφαλὲς προσπαρεσκεύασεν, ὥστ' ἔξω μὲν τοῦ δημοκρατικοῦ θράσους ἔξω δὲ καὶ τῶν τυραννικῶν ὕβρεων ὄντας ἔν τε ἐλευθερίᾳ σώφρονι καὶ ἐν μοναρχίᾳ ἀδεεῖ ζῆν, βασιλευομένους τε ἄνευ δουλείας καὶ δημοκρατουμένους
44 ἄνευ διχοστασίας, δεινῶς αὐτὸν ἐπόθουν.[4] Εἰ γάρ τινες καὶ τῶν προτέρων τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις γενομένων ἐμνημόνευον, ἐκεῖνα μὲν τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνάγκῃ ἀνετίθεσαν, τὴν δὲ δὴ γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἐξ οὗ τὸ κράτος ἀναμφίλογον ἔσχεν ἐξετάζειν ἠξίουν· πλεῖστον γὰρ δὴ τὸ διάφορον
2 ὡς ἀληθῶς παρέσχετο. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καθ' ἕκαστον ἄν τις τῶν πραχθέντων ἐπεξιὼν ἀκρι-

[1] Κοροκότταν M cod. Peir., Κορακόταν Xiph.
[2] γοῦν M Xiph., γὰρ cod. Peir.
[3] ὥστε M cod. Peir., ὥστε καὶ Xiph.
[4] ἐπόθουν M cod. Peir. Zon., ἐπένθουν Xiph.

were a woman, and leaping from it sword in hand cried: "Aren't you afraid that someone may enter in this way and kill you?" Augustus, far from being angry, thanked him for his suggestion. Besides these traits of his, people also recalled that he did not get blindly enraged at those who had injured him, and that he kept faith even with those who were unworthy of it. For instance, there was a robber named Corocotta, who flourished in Spain, at whom he was so angry at first that he offered a million sesterces to the man that should capture him alive; but later, when the robber came to him of his own accord, he not only did him no harm, but actually made him richer by the amount of the reward. A.D. 14

Not alone for these reasons did the Romans greatly miss him, but also because by combining monarchy with democracy he preserved their freedom for them and at the same time established order and security, so that they were free alike from the license of a democracy and from the insolence of a tyranny, living at once in a liberty of moderation and in a monarchy without terrors; they were subjects of royalty, yet not slaves, and citizens of a democracy, yet without discord. If any of them remembered his former deeds in the course of the civil wars, they attributed them to the pressure of circumstances, and they thought it fair to seek for his real disposition in what he did after he was in undisputed possession of the supreme power; for this afforded in truth a mighty contrast. Anybody who examines his acts in detail can establish this fact; but summing them all up briefly, I may state

βώσειε·[1] *κεφάλαιον δὲ ἐφ' ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς γράφω
ὅτι τό τε στασιάζον πᾶν ἔπαυσε καὶ τὸ πολίτευμα
πρός τε τὸ κράτιστον μετεκόσμησε καὶ ἰσχυρῶς
ἐκράτυνεν, ὥστε εἰ καὶ βιαιότερόν τι, οἷα ἐν τοῖς
παραλόγοις φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν, ἐπράχθη, δικαιό-
τερον ἄν τινα αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἢ ἐκεῖνον
αἰτιάσασθαι.*
3 *Οὐκ ἐλάχιστον δ' οὖν αὐτῷ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν καὶ
τὸ πολυχρόνιον τῆς ἡγεμονίας συνήρατο. τῶν
μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἀνδρῶν καὶ οἱ πλείους*
4 *καὶ οἱ δυνατώτεροι ἀπωλώλεσαν· οἱ δ' ὕστεροι
ἐκείνης μὲν οὐδὲν εἰδότες, τοῖς δὲ παροῦσι μόνοις
ἢ καὶ μάλιστα ἐντραφέντες οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἤχθοντο
αὐτοῖς ἅτε καὶ συνήθεσιν οὖσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔχαιρον,
καὶ βελτίω καὶ ἀδεέστερα αὐτὰ ὧν ἤκουον ὁρῶντες
ὄντα.*
45 *Ταῦτα δὲ ἠπίσταντο μὲν καὶ ζῶντος αὐτοῦ,*[2]
*ἐπὶ πλεῖον δ' ὅμως μεταλλάξαντος ἔγνωσαν· καὶ
γὰρ φιλεῖ πως τὸ ἀνθρώπειον*[3] *οὐχ οὕτω τι
εὐπαθοῦν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας αἰσθάνεσθαι ὡς δυστυ-
χῆσαν ποθεῖν αὐτήν. ὅπερ που καὶ τότε περὶ
τὸν Αὔγουστον συνέβη· τοῦ γὰρ Τιβερίου μετ'
αὐτὸν οὐχ ὁμοίου πειραθέντες ἐκεῖνον ἐζήτουν.*
2 *καὶ ἦν μὲν καὶ παραχρῆμα τὴν μεταβολὴν τῆς
καταστάσεως τοῖς ἔμφροσι τεκμήρασθαι· ὅ τε
γὰρ ὕπατος ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξορμήσας ὡς καὶ τοῖς
τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου σῶμα ἄγουσιν ἀπαντήσων τό
τε σκέλος ἐπλήγη καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ φοράδην ἀνεκο-
μίσθη, καὶ βύας αὖθις ὑπὲρ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐν*

[1] ἀκριβώσειε Dind., ἀκριβωσεις M (*s* deleted by corr.), ἀκριβώσει cod. Peir.

[2] αὐτοῦ M Xiph., αὐτοῦ πολλοὶ cod. Peir.

that he put an end to all the factional discord, transformed the government in a way to give it the greatest power, and vastly strengthened it. Therefore, even if an occasional deed of violence did occur, as is apt to happen in extraordinary situations, one might more justly blame the circumstances themselves than him. A.D. 14

Now not the least factor in his glory was the length of his reign. For the majority as well as the more powerful of those who had lived under the republic were now dead, and the later generation, knowing naught of that form of government and having been reared entirely or largely under existing conditions, were not only not displeased with them, familiar as they now were, but actually took delight in them, since they saw that their present state was better and more free from terror than that of which they knew by tradition.

Though the people understood all this during his lifetime, they nevertheless realized it more fully after he was gone; for human nature is so constituted that in good fortune it does not so fully perceive its happiness as it misses it when misfortune has come. This is what happened at that time in the case of Augustus. For when they found his successor Tiberius a different sort of man, they yearned for him who was gone. Indeed, it was possible at once for people of any intelligence to foresee the change in conditions. For the consul Pompeius, upon going out to meet the men who were bearing the body of Augustus, received a blow on the leg and had to be carried back on a litter with the body; and an owl sat on the roof of the

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[3] ἀνθρώπειον M, ἀνθρώπινον Xiph.

αὐτῇ τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς βουλῆς μετὰ τὸν θάνατον
αὐτοῦ ἕδρα ἱδρύθη καὶ πολλὰ καὶ οὐκ αἴσια
3 ἐπεφθέγξατο. τοσοῦτον δ' οὖν τὸ σύμπαν ἀλλήλων
διήνεγκαν ὥστε τινὰς καὶ ἐς τὸν Αὔγουστον
ὑποπτεῦσαι ὅτι ἐξεπίτηδες τὸν Τιβέριον, καίπερ
εὖ εἰδὼς ὁποῖος ἦν, διάδοχον ἀπέδειξεν, ἵνα αὐτὸς
εὐδοξήσῃ.

46 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὖν ὕστερον διαθροεῖν ἤρξαντο,
τότε δὲ ἀθανατίσαντες αὐτόν, καὶ θιασώτας οἱ
καὶ ἱερὰ ἱέρειάν τε τὴν Λιουίαν τὴν Ἰουλίαν τε[1]
2 καὶ Αὔγουσταν ἤδη καλουμένην ἀπέδειξαν. καὶ
οἱ μὲν καὶ ῥαβδούχῳ χρῆσθαι ἐν ταῖς ἱερουργίαις
αὐτῇ ἐπέτρεψαν· ἐκείνη δὲ δὴ Νουμερίῳ τινὶ
Ἀττικῷ, βουλευτῇ ἐστρατηγηκότι, πέντε καὶ
εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἐχαρίσατο, ὅτι τὸν Αὔγουστον
ἐς τὸν οὐρανόν, κατὰ τὰ περί τε τοῦ Πρόκλου
καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου λεγόμενα, ἀνιόντα ἑορα-
3 κέναι ὤμοσε. καὶ αὐτῷ ἔν τε τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἡρῷον
ψηφισθὲν μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας οἰκοδομηθὲν δὲ
ὑπό τε τῆς Λιουίας καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐποιήθη,
καὶ ἄλλοθι πολλαχόθι, τὰ μὲν ἑκόντων δὴ τῶν
δήμων τὰ δὲ ἀκόντων οἰκοδομουμένων. καί οἱ
καὶ ἡ ἐν τῇ Νώλῃ οἰκία, ἐν ᾗ μετήλλαξεν, ἐτε-
4 μενίσθη. ἐν ᾧ δ' οὖν τὸ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἡρῷον
ἐγίγνετο, εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ χρυσῆν ἐπὶ κλίνης ἐς τὸν
τοῦ Ἄρεως ναὸν ἔθεσαν, καὶ ἐκείνῃ πάντα ὅσα τῷ
ἀγάλματι αὐτοῦ μετὰ τοῦτο χρήσεσθαι ἔμελλον
ἐνόμισαν. ταῦτά τε αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσθη, καὶ ὅπως
μήτ' εἰκὼν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐκφορᾷ τινος πομπεύῃ, καὶ
τὰ γενέσια οἱ ὕπατοι ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς Ἀρείοις[2]

[1] τὴν Ἰουλίαν τε Reim., ἰουλίαν τε τὴν M.

senate-house again at the very first meeting of the senate after his death and uttered many ill-omened cries. At all events, the two emperors differed so completely from each other, that some suspected that Augustus, with full knowledge of Tiberius' character, had purposely appointed him his successor that his own glory might be enhanced thereby. A.D. 14

Now these rumours began to be current at a later date. At the time they declared Augustus immortal, assigned to him priests[1] and sacred rites, and made Livia, who was already called Julia and Augusta, his priestess; they also permitted her to employ a lictor when she exercised her sacred office. On her part, she bestowed a million sesterces upon a certain Numerius Atticus, a senator and ex-praetor, because he swore that he had seen Augustus ascending to heaven after the manner of which tradition tells concerning Proculus and Romulus. A shrine voted by the senate and built by Livia and Tiberius was erected to the dead emperor in Rome, and others in many different places, some of the communities voluntarily building them and others unwillingly. Also the house at Nola where he passed away was dedicated to him as a precinct. While his shrine was being erected in Rome, they placed a golden image of him on a couch in the temple of Mars, and to this they paid all the honours that they were afterwards to give to his statue. Other votes in regard to him were, that his image should not be borne in procession at anybody's funeral, that the consuls should celebrate his birthday with games like the Ludi

[1] The *Sodales Augustales.*

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[2] Ἀρείοις Reim., ἀρήοις M.

ἀγωνοθετῶσι, τά τε Αὐγουστάλια οἱ δήμαρχοι ὡς καὶ ἱεροπρεπεῖς ὄντες διατιθῶσι. καὶ οἱ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὥσπερ εἰώθει γίγνεσθαι ἔπραξαν (καὶ γὰρ τῇ ἐσθῆτι τῇ ἐπινικίῳ ἐν τῇ ἱπποδρομίᾳ ἐχρήσαντο), οὐ μέντοι καὶ τοῦ ἅρματος ἐπέβησαν. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων καὶ ἡ Λιουία ἰδίαν δή τινα αὐτῷ πανήγυριν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἐποίησεν, ἣ καὶ δεῦρο[1] ἀεὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἀεὶ αὐτοκρατόρων τελεῖται.

47 Ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τῷ Αὐγούστῳ τοσαῦτα, λόγῳ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπό τε τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Λιουίας, ἐνομίσθη· ἄλλων γὰρ ἄλλα ἐσηγουμένων, ἔδοξέ σφισι βιβλία παρ' αὐτῶν τὸν Τιβέριον λαβόντα ἐκλέξασθαι ὅσα ἐβούλετο. προσέθηκα δὲ τὸ τῆς Λιουίας ὄνομα, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴ τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς καὶ αὐταρχοῦσα ἀντεποιεῖτο.

2 Κἀν τούτῳ τὸ πλῆθος, τῶν ὀρχηστῶν τινος μὴ ἐθελήσαντος ἐπὶ τῷ τεταγμένῳ μισθῷ ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐν τοῖς Αὐγουσταλίοις ἐσελθεῖν, ἐστασίασε· καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο ταραττόμενοι πρὶν τοὺς δημάρχους τήν τε βουλὴν αὐθημερὸν συναγαγεῖν, καὶ δεηθῆναι αὐτῆς ἐπιτρέψαι σφίσι πλεῖόν τι τοῦ νενομισμένου ἀναλῶσαι.[2]

[1] δεῦρο Casaubon, δευτέρα M.

[2] M places here ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ Αὔγουστον ἐγένετο, the opening words of lvii.

Martiales, and that the tribunes, as being sacrosanct, were to have charge of the Augustalia. These officials conducted everything in the customary manner—even wearing the triumphal garb at the horse-race—except that they did not ride in the chariot. Besides this, Livia held a private festival in his honour for three days in the palace, and this ceremony is still continued down to the present day by whoever is emperor. A.D. 14

Such were the decrees passed in memory of Augustus, nominally by the senate, but actually by Tiberius and Livia. For when some men proposed one thing and some another, the senate decreed that Tiberius should receive suggestions in writing from its members and then select whichever he chose. I have added the name of Livia because she, too, took a share in the proceedings, as if she possessed full powers.

Meanwhile the populace fell to rioting, because at the Augustalia one of the actors would not enter the theatre for the stipulated pay; and they did not cease their disturbance, until the tribunes convened the senate that very day and begged it to permit them to spend more than the legal amount. Here ends my account of Augustus.[1]

[1] These words properly belong at this place in the English, instead of at the beginning of the following book, where the Greek calls for them and where modern editors place them in spite of the fact that our best manuscript (M) here violates the usual practice.

FRAGMENTS[1]

1. *οὗτος τοσοῦτον ὑπὸ πάντων ἠγαπᾶτο ὥστε καὶ τελευτῶν τις ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ κληρονόμοις θῦσαι ὅτι ζῶντα τὸν Σεβαστὸν καταλείπει.* Exc. Salm. fr. 78, 4 Muell. (p. 393, 26–28 Cram.).

τοσοῦτον δὲ πεφίχητο παρὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων | ὥστε τὸν βίον ἐκλείπειν μέλλων ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος | ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ παισὶ καὶ διαδόχοις | χαριστηρίους τοῖς θεοῖς προσενεγκεῖν θυσίας, | "ὅτι," φησί, "τὸν Σεβαστὸν ζῶντα καταλιμπάνω." Const. Man. v. 1912–1916.

2. *δυστυχήσας δὲ περὶ γάμον καὶ τὰ εἰς παῖδας ἐκβεβηκότα ἐβόα·*

αἴθ' ὤφελον ἄγαμός τ' ἔμεναι ἄγονός τ' ἀπολέσθαι.

Exc. Salm. fr. 78, 4 Muell. (p. 393, 28–30 Cram.).

3. *περὶ δὲ ὀρθογραφίαν ἐσπουδάκει ὥστε καὶ διάδοχόν τινι τῶν ἀρχόντων ἔπεμψεν, ὅτι αὐτῷ ἐπιστέλλων τῆς ὀρθῶς ἐχούσης ἐσφάλη γραφῆς.* Exc. Salm. fr. 78, 4 Muell. (p. 393, 31–33 Cram.).

FRAGMENTS

1. He was so greatly beloved by everybody that a certain man, when he came to die, bade his heirs offer sacrifices because he left Augustus still living.

He had won the affection of all his subjects to such a degree that a certain Roman, when about to leave this life, instructed his sons and successors to offer sacrifices of thanksgiving to the gods, because, as he said, he left Augustus still living.

2. Having been unfortunate in his marriage and in the fate of his children, he used to cry:

"Oh, would that I ne'er had wed, and would I
had childless died!"

3. He was so punctilious about correct spelling that he actually cashiered one of the governors because that official in writing to him had misspelled a word.

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[1] These excerpts from Byzantine writers of Roman history may perhaps derive from Dio as their ultimate source. Since their exact places in Dio's account of Augustus are uncertain, Boissevain places them together at this point.

BOOK LVII

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ ἑβδόμῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

α. Περὶ Τιβερίου.
β. Ὡς Καππαδοκία ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχεσθαι ἤρξατο.
γ. Ὡς Γερμανικὸς Καῖσαρ ἀπέθανεν.
δ. Ὡς Δροῦσος Καῖσαρ ἀπέθανεν.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἔτη ἕνδεκα, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἵδε ἐγένοντο

Δροῦσος Καῖσαρ Τιβερίου υἱ.
Γ. Νωρβανὸς Γ. υἱ. Φλάκκος ὕπ.[1]
Τ. Στατίλιος Τ. υἱ. Σισέννας[2] Ταῦρος
Λ. Σκριβώνιος Λ. υἱ. Λίβων ὕπ.
Γ. Καικίλιος Γ. υἱ. Νέπως[3] ἢ[4] Ροῦφος
Λ. Πομπώνιος Λ. υἱ. Φλάκκος ὕπ.
Τιβ. Καῖσαρ Αὐγούστου υἱ. τὸ γʹ
Γερμανικὸς Καῖσαρ Τιβ. υἱ. τὸ βʹ ὕπ.
Μ. Ἰούνιος Μ. υἱ. Σιλανός
Γ. Νωρβανὸς Γ. υἱ. Φλάκκος ἢ[4] Βάλβος ὕπ.[5]
Μ. Οὐαλέριος Μ. υἱ. Μεσσάλας
Μ.[6] Αὐρήλιος Μ. υἱ. Κόττας ὕπ.
Τιβ. Καῖσαρ Αὐγούστου υἱ. τὸ δʹ
Δροῦσος Ἰούλιος Τιβ. υἱ. τὸ βʹ[7] ὕπ.
Δέκιμος Ἀτέριος Κ. υἱ. Ἀγρίππας
Γ.[8] Σουλπίκιος Σεργ. υἱ.[9] Γάλβας[10] ὕπ
Γ. Ἀσίνιος Γ. υἱ. Πωλίων
Γ. Ἀντίστιος Γ. υἱ. Οὐέτος[11] ὕπ.
Σέργ. Κορνήλιος Σεργ. υἱ. Κέθηγος
Λ. Οὐισέλλιος[12] Γ. υἱ.[13] Οὐάρρων[14] ὕπ.
Μ.[15] Ἀσίνιος Γ.[16] υἱ. Ἀγρίππας
Κόσσος Κορνήλιος Κόσσου υἱ. Λεντοῦλος ὕπ.

[1] ὕπ. supplied by Bs.
[2] Σισέννας R. Steph., σισένναι M.
[3] Νέπως R. Steph., νέπος M.
[4] Bs. suggests that ἢ should be deleted.
[5] ὕπ. supplied by Bs.
[6] M. R. Steph., μʹ υιʹ M.
[7] τὸ βʹ ὕπ. Bs., ὕπ. τὸ βʹ M.
[8] Γ. supplied by Xyl.
[9] Σεργ. υἱ. supplied by Bs.

BOOK LVII

The following is contained in the Fifty seventh of Dio's *Rome*:—

About Tiberius (chap. 1 ff.).
How Cappadocia began to be governed by Romans (chap. 17).
How Germanicus Caesar died (chap. 18).
How Drusus Caesar died (chap. 22).

Duration of time, eleven years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated:—

A.D.
15 Drusus Caesar Tiberi f., C. Norbanus C. f. Flaccus.
16 T. Statilius T. f. Sisenna Taurus, L. Scribonius L. f. Libo.
17 C. Caecilius C. f. Nepos [or [1]] Rufus, L. Pomponius L. f. Flaccus.
18 Ti. Caesar Augusti f. (III), Germanicus Caesar Ti. f. (II).
19 M. Iunius M. f. Silanus, C. Norbanus C. f. Flaccus [or [1]] Balbus.
20 M. Valerius M. f. Messalla, M. Aurelius M. f. Cotta.
21 Ti. Caesar Augusti f. (IV), Drusus Iulius Ti. f. (II).
22 Decimus Haterius C. f. Agrippa, C. Sulpicius Serg. f. Galba.
23 C. Asinius C. f. Pollio, C. Antistius C. f. Vetus.
24 Sergius Cornelius Sergi f. Cethegus, L. Visellius C. f. Varro.
25 M. Asinius C. f. Agrippa, Cossus Cornelius Cossi f. Lentulus.

[1] "Or" is perhaps to be deleted.

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[10] Γάλβας R. Steph , γάλουας M.
[11] Οὐέτος Xyl., ἰοῦστος M.
[12] Λ. Οὐισέλλιος Xyl., κηλουσέλλιος M, *i. e.* Κ. ἢ Λ. Οὐισέλλιος? [13] Γ. υἱ. Ryckius, Λ. υἱ. M.
[14] Οὐάρρων H. Steph., οὐάρων M.
[15] M. R. Steph., μ′ ηγ′ M.
[16] Γ. Bs., M. R. Steph., μ′ ηγ′ M.

Ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ Αὔγουστον ἐγένετο, Τιβέριος δὲ εὐπατρίδης μὲν ἦν καὶ ἐπεπαίδευτο, φύσει δὲ ἰδιωτάτῃ ἐκέχρητο. οὔτε γὰρ ὧν ἐπεθύμει προσεποιεῖτό τι, καὶ ὧν ἔλεγεν οὐδὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐβούλετο, ἀλλ' ἐναντιωτάτους τῇ προαιρέσει τοὺς λόγους ποιούμενος πᾶν τε ὃ ἐπόθει ἠρνεῖτο καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἐμίσει προετείνετο· ὠργίζετό τε ἐν οἷς ἥκιστα ἐθυμοῦτο, καὶ ἐπιεικὴς ἐν οἷς μάλιστα ἠγανάκτει
2 ἐδόκει εἶναι· ἠλέει τε δῆθεν οὓς σφόδρα ἐκόλαζε, καὶ ἐχαλέπαινεν οἷς συνεγίγνωσκε· τόν τε ἔχθιστον ὡς οἰκειότατον ἔστιν ὅτε ἑώρα, καὶ τῷ φιλτάτῳ ὡς ἀλλοτριωτάτῳ προσεφέρετο. τό τε σύμπαν οὐκ ἠξίου τὸν αὐταρχοῦντα κατάδηλον ὧν φρονεῖ εἶναι· ἔκ τε γὰρ τούτου πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα πταίεσθαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου πολλῷ
3 πλείω καὶ μείζω κατορθοῦσθαι ἔλεγε. καὶ εἰ μὲν μόνα ταῦτ' εἶχεν, εὐφύλακτος ἂν τοῖς ἐς πεῖραν αὐτοῦ ἐλθοῦσιν ἦν· πρὸς γάρ τοι τὸ ἐναντιώτατον πάντα ἂν λαμβάνοντες[1] ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου τό τε μὴ βούλεσθαι δή τι αὐτὸν τῷ πάνυ ποθεῖν καὶ τὸ ὀρέγεσθαί τινος τῷ[2] μὴ ἐφίεσθαι ἐνόμιζον· νῦν δὲ ὠργίζετο εἴ τις αὐτοῦ συνεὶς φανερὸς ἐγένετο, καὶ πολλοὺς οὐδὲν ἄλλο σφίσιν ἢ ὅτι συνενόησαν αὐτὸν ἐγκαλέσαι ἔχων ἀπέκτει-
4 νεν. ὥστε χαλεπὸν μὲν ἦν μηδεμίαν αὐτοῦ σύνεσιν ποιεῖσθαι (πολλὰ γὰρ ἅτε πρὸς τὸ λεγόμενον ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ βουλόμενον συναινοῦντές οἱ ἐσφάλλοντο), χαλεπώτερον δὲ συνιέναι·

[1] ἂν λαμβάνοντες Xiph., ἀναλαμβάνοντες M cod. Peir.
[2] τῷ R. Steph., τὸ M cod. Peir. Xiph.

BOOK LVII

TIBERIUS was a patrician of good education, but he had a most peculiar nature. He never let what he desired appear in his conversation, and what he said he wanted he usually did not desire at all. On the contrary, his words indicated the exact opposite of his real purpose; he denied all interest in what he longed for, and urged the claims of what he hated. He would exhibit anger over matters that were very far from arousing his wrath, and make a show of affability where he was most vexed. He would pretend to pity those whom he severely punished, and would retain a grudge against those whom he pardoned. Sometimes he would regard his bitterest foe as if he were his most intimate companion, and again he would treat his dearest friend like the veriest stranger. In short, he thought it bad policy for the sovereign to reveal his thoughts; this was often the cause, he said, of great failures, whereas by the opposite course far more and greater successes were attained. Now if he had merely followed this method quite consistently, it would have been easy for those who had once come to know him to be on their guard against him; for they would have taken everything by exact contraries, regarding his seeming indifference to anything as equivalent to his ardently desiring it, and his eagerness for anything as equivalent to his not caring for it. But, as it was, he became angry if anyone gave evidence of understanding him, and he put many to death for no other offence than that of having comprehended him. While it was a dangerous matter, then, to fail to understand him,—for people often came to grief by approving what he said instead of what he wished,—it was still more dangerous to understand him, since A.D. 14

τήν τε γὰρ ἐπιτήδευσιν αὐτοῦ καταφωρᾶν κἀκ
5 τούτου καὶ ἄχθεσθαι αὐτῇ ὑπωπτεύοντο. μόνος[1]
οὖν ὡς εἰπεῖν, ὅπερ που σπανιώτατόν ἐστι, διε-
γένετο ὃς οὔτ' ἠγνόησε τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ οὔτ'
ἤλεγξεν· οὕτω γὰρ οὔτε πιστεύσαντές οἱ ἠπατή-
θησαν, οὔτε ἐνδειξάμενοι νοεῖν ἃ ἔπραττεν ἐμισή-
θησαν. πάνυ γὰρ πολὺν ὄχλον παρεῖχεν, εἴτε
6 τις ἐναντιοῖτο οἷς ἔλεγεν εἴτε καὶ συναίροιτο· τὸ
μὲν γὰρ ἀληθῶς γενέσθαι τὸ δὲ δοκεῖν βούλεσθαι
ἐθέλων, πάντως τέ τινας πρὸς ἑκάτερον ἐναντιου-
μένους εἶχε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς μὲν τῆς ἀληθείας
τοὺς δὲ τῆς δοκήσεως ἕνεκα ἤχθαιρε.

2 Τοιοῦτος οὖν δή τις ὢν ἔς τε τὰ στρατόπεδα
καὶ ἐς τὰ ἔθνη πάντα ὡς αὐτοκράτωρ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ
τῆς Νώλης ἐπέστειλε, μὴ λέγων αὐτοκράτωρ εἶναι·
ψηφισθὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων
ὀνομάτων οὐκ ἐδέξατο, καὶ τὸν κλῆρον τοῦ
Αὐγούστου λαβὼν τὴν ἐπίκλησιν αὐτοῦ ταύτην
2 οὐκ ἔθετο. τούς τε σωματοφύλακας ἀμφ' αὐτὸν
ἤδη ἔχων ἐδεῖτο δὴ τῆς γερουσίας συνάρασθαί οἱ
ὥστε μηδὲν βίαιον ἐν τῇ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ ταφῇ
παθεῖν· ἐδεδίει γὰρ δῆθεν μή τινες αὐτὸ ἁρπά-
σαντες ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ὥσπερ τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος,
3 καύσωσι. καὶ ἐπειδή γε κομψευσάμενός τις ἐπὶ
τούτῳ φρουρὰν αὐτῷ ὡς οὐκ ἔχοντι δοθῆναι
ἐσηγήσατο, τόν τε χλευασμὸν αὐτοῦ συνῆκε, καὶ
ἔφη καὶ ὅτι "οἱ στρατιῶται οὐκ ἐμοὶ ἀλλὰ

[1] μόνος Xiph., μόνον M cod. Peir.

people were then suspected of discovering his practice and consequently of being displeased with it. Practically the only sort of man, therefore, that could maintain himself,—and such persons were very rare,—was one who neither misunderstood his nature nor exposed it to others; for under these conditions men were neither deceived by believing him nor hated for showing that they understood his motives. He certainly gave people a vast amount of trouble whether they opposed what he said or agreed with him; for inasmuch as he really wished one thing to be done but wanted to appear to desire something different, he was bound to find men opposing him from either point of view, and therefore was hostile to the one class because of his real feelings, and to the other for the sake of appearances. A.D. 14

It was due to this characteristic, that, as emperor, he immediately sent a dispatch from Nola to all the legions and provinces, though he did not claim to be emperor; for he would not accept this name, which was voted to him along with the others, and though taking the inheritance left him by Augustus, he would not adopt the title "Augustus." At a time when he was already surrounded by the bodyguards, he actually asked the senate to lend him assistance so that he might not meet with any violence at the burial of the emperor; for he pretended to be afraid that people might catch up the body and burn it in the Forum, as they had done with that of Caesar. When somebody thereupon facetiously proposed that he be given a guard, as if he had none, he saw through the man's irony and answered: "The soldiers do not belong to me, but to the State."

*δημόσιοί εἰσι." ταῦτά τε οὖν οὕτως ἔπρασσε,
καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔργῳ πάντα διοικῶν ἠρνεῖτο
4 μηδὲν αὐτῆς δεῖσθαι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ
πᾶσαν αὐτὴν διά τε τὴν ἡλικίαν (ἓξ γὰρ καὶ
πεντήκοντα ἔτη ἐγεγόνει) καὶ δι' ἀμβλυωπίαν
(πλεῖστον γὰρ τοῦ σκότους βλέπων ἐλάχιστα
τῆς ἡμέρας ἑώρα) ἐξίστασθαι ἔλεγεν· ἔπειτα δὲ
κοινωνούς τέ τινας καὶ συνάρχοντας, οὔτι γε καὶ
πάντων καθάπαξ ὥσπερ ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐς
τρία μέρη νέμων αὐτήν, ᾔτει, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτὸς
ἔχειν ἠξίου, τῶν δὲ ἑτέρων ἄλλοις παρεχώρει.
5 ἦν δὲ ταῦτα ἓν μὲν ἥ τε Ῥώμη καὶ ἡ ἄλλη
Ἰταλία, ἕτερον δὲ τὰ στρατόπεδα, καὶ ἕτερον
οἱ λοιποὶ ὑπήκοοι. ὡς οὖν πολὺς ἐνέκειτο, οἱ
μὲν ἄλλοι καὶ ὣς ἀντέλεγον δῆθεν καὶ ἐδέοντο
αὐτοῦ ἄρχειν πάντων, Ἀσίνιος δὲ δὴ Γάλλος
παρρησίᾳ ἀεί ποτε πατρῴᾳ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ συμφέρον
αὐτῷ χρώμενος "ἑλοῦ" ἔφη "ἣν ἂν ἐθελήσῃς
6 μοῖραν." καὶ Τιβέριος "καὶ πῶς οἷόν τέ ἐστιν"
εἶπεν "τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ νέμειν τι καὶ αἱρεῖσθαι;"
συνεὶς οὖν ὁ Γάλλος ἐν ᾧ κακοῦ ἐγεγόνει, τῷ
μὲν λόγῳ ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτόν, ὑπολαβὼν ὅτι
"οὐχ ὡς καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἕξοντός σου, ἀλλ' ὡς
ἀδύνατον ὂν τὴν ἀρχὴν διαιρεθῆναι, τοῦτό σοι
7 προέτεινα," οὐ μέντοι καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐτιθάσευσεν,
ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ προπαθὼν μετὰ ταῦτα
ἐπαπεσφάγη. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ
τὴν προτέραν ἐγεγαμήκει, τόν τε Δροῦσον ὡς
υἱὸν προσεποιεῖτο, ὅθενπερ καὶ πρότερον διὰ
μίσους αὐτῷ ἦν.*

Such was his action in this matter; and similarly he was administering in reality all the business of the empire while declaring that he did not want it at all. At first he kept saying he would give up the rule entirely on account of his age (he was fifty-six) and of his near-sightedness (for although he saw extremely well in the dark, his sight was very poor in the day-time); but later he asked for some associates and colleagues, though not with the intention that they should jointly rule the whole empire, as in an oligarchy, but rather dividing it into three parts, one of which he would retain himself, while giving up the remaining two to others. One of these portions consisted of Rome and the rest of Italy, the second of the legions, and the third of the subject peoples outside. When now he became very urgent, most of the senators still opposed his expressed purpose, and begged him to govern the whole realm; but Asinius Gallus, who always employed the blunt speech of his father more than was good for him, replied: "Choose whichever portion you wish." Tiberius rejoined: "How can the same man both make the division and choose?" Gallus, then, perceiving into what a plight he had fallen, tried to find words to please him and answered: "It was not with the idea that you should have only a third, but rather to show the impossibility of the empire's being divided, that I made this suggestion to you." As a matter of fact, however, he did not mollify Tiberius, but after first undergoing many dire sufferings he was at length murdered. For Gallus had married the former wife of Tiberius and claimed Drusus as his son, and he was consequently hated by the other even before this incident. A.D. 14

3 Ὁ δ' οὖν Τιβέριος ταῦτα τότε ἐποίει τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον ὅτι οὕτω τε ἐπεφύκει καὶ οὕτω προῄρητο, ἤδη δὲ καὶ ὅτι τά τε στρατεύματα, καὶ τὰ Παννονικὰ καὶ τὰ Γερμανικά, ὑπετόπει, καὶ τὸν Γερμανικὸν τῆς Γερμανίας ἄρχοντα τότε[1] καὶ
2 φιλούμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐδεδίει. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ὄντας τοῖς ὅρκοις τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου καταδειχθεῖσι προκατέλαβεν· ἐς δὲ ἐκείνους ὑποπτεύων ἐπ' ἀμφότερα ἀνεῖχεν, ὅπως, ἄν τι νεωτερίσαντες ἐπικρατήσωσιν, ὡς καὶ ἰδιωτεύων σωθῇ. καὶ πολλάκις γε διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀρρωστεῖν προσεποιεῖτο καὶ οἴκοι κατέμενεν, ἵνα μὴ ἀναγκασθῇ ἀποκεκριμένον τι εἰπεῖν ἢ πρᾶξαι.
3 ἤδη μὲν γὰρ ἤκουσα ὅτι, ἐπειδὴ ἡ Λιουία ἄκοντος τοῦ Αὐγούστου τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ περιπεποιηκέναι ἐλέγετο, ἔπραττεν,[2] ὅπως μὴ παρ' ἐκείνης (καὶ γὰρ πάνυ αὐτῇ ἤχθετο) ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀναγκαστός, ὡς καὶ κατὰ ἀρετήν σφων προήκων,
4 δόξειεν αὐτὴν εἰληφέναι· καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὁρῶν ἀλλοτρίως ἑαυτῷ ἔχοντας διέμελλε καὶ διῆγεν, ὅπως μὴ φθάσαντές τι νεοχμώσωσιν ἐλπίδι τοῦ καὶ ἐθελούσιον αὐτὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφήσειν, μέχρις οὗ ἐγκρατὴς αὐτῆς
5 διὰ πάντων ἐγένετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτως αἴτια τῆς διαγωγῆς ταύτης γράφω, ὡς τήν τε ἐπιτήδευσιν τῆς γνώμης αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ταραχὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν. τὸν μὲν γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν παραχρῆμα ἀπὸ τῆς Νώλης πέμψας τινὰ ἀπέκτεινε· καὶ ἔλεγε μὲν μὴ ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προστάξεως τοῦτο

[1] τῆς Γερμανίας ἄρχοντα τότε Zon., τῆς τότε Γερμανίας ἄρχοντα M.

Tiberius acted in this way at that time, chiefly because it was his nature to do so and because he had determined upon that policy, but partly also because he was suspicious of both the Pannonian and Germanic legions and feared Germanicus, then governor of the province of Germany and beloved by them. For he had previously made sure of the soldiers in Italy by means of the oaths of allegiance established by Augustus; but as he was suspicious of the others, he was ready for either alternative, intending to save himself by retiring to private life in case the legions should revolt and prevail. For this reason he often feigned illness and remained at home, so as not to be compelled to say or do anything definite. I have even heard that when it began to be said that Livia had secured the rule for him contrary to the will of Augustus, he took steps to let it appear that he had not received it from her, whom he cordially hated, but under compulsion from the senators by reason of his surpassing them in excellence. Another story I have heard is to the effect that when he saw that people were cool toward him, he waited and delayed until he had become complete master of the empire, lest in the hope of his voluntarily resigning it they should rebel before he was ready for them. Still, I do not mean to record these stories as giving the true causes of his behaviour, which was due rather to his regular disposition and to the unrest among the soldiers. Indeed, he immediately sent from Nola and caused Agrippa to be put to death. He declared, to be sure, that this had not been done by his orders and A.D. 14

[2] ἔπραττεν Bs., ἔπλαττεν M.

6 γεγονέναι, ἐπηπείλει τε τῷ δράσαντι, οὐ μὴν καὶ
τιμωρίαν τινὰ αὐτοῦ ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλ' εἴα τοὺς
ἀνθρώπους λογοποιεῖν, τοὺς μὲν ὅτι ὁ Αὔγουστος
αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὴν τελευτὴν ἀπεχρήσατο, τοὺς δ' ὅτι
ὁ ἑκατόνταρχος ὁ τὴν φρουρὰν αὐτοῦ ἔχων
καινοτομοῦντά τι ἀπέσφαξεν αὐτογνωμονήσας,
ἄλλους ὡς ἡ Λιουία, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνος, ἀποθανεῖν
αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν.

4 Τοῦτον μὲν οὖν αὐτίκα ὑπεξείλετο, τὸν δὲ δὴ
Γερμανικὸν δεινῶς ἐφοβεῖτο. ἐθορύβησαν μὲν
γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Παννονίᾳ στρατιῶται, ἐπειδὴ
τάχιστα τῆς τοῦ Αὐγούστου μεταλλαγῆς ᾔσ-
θοντο· καὶ συνελθόντες ἐς ἓν τεῖχος, καὶ ἐκεῖνο
κρατυνάμενοι, πολλὰ καὶ στασιαστικὰ ἔπραξαν.
2 τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντά σφων Ἰούνιον
Βλαῖσον ἀποκτεῖναι ἐπεχείρησαν, τούς τε δούλους
αὐτοῦ συλλαβόντες ἐβασάνισαν. τό τε σύμπαν
οὔθ' ὑπὲρ ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτη στρατεύεσθαι ἤθελον,
καὶ δραχμὴν ἡμερησίαν φέρειν τά τε ἆθλα εὐθὺς
αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ λαμβάνειν ἠξίουν,
ἀπειλοῦντες, ἂν μὴ τύχωσιν αὐτῶν, τό τε ἔθνος
3 ἀποστήσειν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλάσειν. οὐ μὴν
ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τότε τε[1] μόλις ποτὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ
Βλαίσου πεισθέντες πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν Τιβέριον
ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἔπεμψαν· ἐν γὰρ τῇ μεταβολῇ τῆς
ἀρχῆς πάνθ' ὅσα ἐπεθύμουν, ἢ αὐτὸν ἐκφοβή-
σαντες ἢ καὶ ἄλλῳ τινὶ τὸ κράτος δόντες, κατα-
4 πράξειν ἤλπιζον· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ Δρούσου
σὺν τοῖς δορυφόροις ἐπελθόντος σφίσιν ἐταράχθη-
σαν μέν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς βέβαιον ἐλέγετο, καὶ
τῶν τε συνόντων αὐτῷ κατέτρωσάν τινας καὶ

[1] τε supplied by Bk.

made threats against the perpetrator of the deed; yet he did not punish him at all, but allowed men to invent their own versions of the affair, some to the effect that Augustus had put Agrippa out of the way just before his death, others that the centurion who was guarding him had slain him on his own responsibility for some revolutionary dealings, and still others that Livia instead of Tiberius had ordered his death. A.D. 14

This rival, then, he got rid of at once, but of Germanicus he stood in great fear. For the troops in Pannonia had mutinied as soon as they learned of the death of Augustus, and coming together into one camp and strengthening it, they committed many rebellious acts. Among other things they attempted to kill their commander, Junius Blaesus, and arrested and tortured his slaves. Their demands were, in brief, that their term of service should be limited to sixteen years, that they should be paid a denarius per day, and that they should receive their prizes then and there in the camp; and they threatened, in case they did not obtain these demands, to cause the province to revolt and then to march upon Rome. However, they were at this time finally and with no little difficulty won over by Blaesus, and sent envoys to Tiberius at Rome in their behalf; for they hoped in connexion with the change in the government to gain all their desires, either by frightening Tiberius or by giving the supreme power to another. Later, when Drusus came against them with the Pretorians, they fell to rioting when no definite answer was given them, and they wounded some of his followers and placed a guard round about him in the night to

αὐτὸν τῆς νυκτὸς περιεφρούρησαν, μὴ διαφύγῃ,
τῆς δὲ δὴ σελήνης ἐκλιπούσης ἐνθυμηθέντες
ἀπημβλύνθησαν, ὥστε κακὸν μὲν μηδὲν ἔτ'
αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι, πρέσβεις δ' αὖθις πρὸς τὸν
5 Τιβέριον ἀποστεῖλαι. κἂν τούτῳ χειμῶνος με-
γάλου γενομένου, καὶ δι' αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα
ἑκάστων τείχη ἀναχωρησάντων, οἵ τε θρασύτατοι
ὑπό τε τοῦ Δρούσου καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ γε τῇ σκηνῇ
αὐτοῦ, μεταπεμφθέντες ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι, καὶ
ὑπὸ τῶν συνακολουθησάντων αὐτῷ ἄλλοι κατ'
ἄλλον τρόπον ἐφθάρησαν, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κατέ-
στησαν, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τιμωρίαν τινὰς ὡς καὶ
αἰτίους τῆς στάσεως γεγονότας ἐκδοῦναι.

5 Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οὕτως ἡσύχασαν, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ
Γερμανίᾳ, καὶ πολλοὶ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἠθροισ-
μένοι καὶ τὸν Γερμανικὸν καὶ Καίσαρα καὶ πολὺ
τοῦ Τιβερίου κρείττω ὁρῶντες ὄντα, οὐδὲν ἐμετρία-
ζον ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτὰ προτεινόμενοι τόν τε Τιβέριον
ἐκακηγόρησαν καὶ τὸν Γερμανικὸν αὐτοκράτορα
2 ἐπεκάλεσαν. ἐπειδή τε ἐκεῖνος πολλὰ εἰπὼν καὶ
μὴ δυνηθεὶς αὐτοὺς καταστῆσαι, τέλος τὸ ξίφος
ὡς καὶ ἑαυτὸν καταχρησόμενος ἐσπάσατο, ἐπε-
βόησάν οἱ χλευάζοντες,[1] καί τις αὐτῶν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ
ξίφος ἀνατείνας "τοῦτο" ἔφη "λαβέ· τοῦτο γὰρ
3 ὀξύτερόν ἐστιν." ὁ οὖν Γερμανικὸς ἰδὼν ὅποι[2]
τὸ πρᾶγμα προεληλύθει, ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν ἑαυτὸν
οὐκ ἐτόλμησε διά τε τἆλλα καὶ ὅτι στασιάσειν
αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν ἧττον ἤλπισε, γράμματα δὲ δή τινα
ὡς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου πεμφθέντα συνθείς, τήν
τε δωρεὰν τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου καταλειφθεῖσάν

[1] χλευάζοντες v. Herw., αἰάζοντες M. [2] ὅποι Bk., ὅπῃ M.

prevent his escape. But when the moon suffered eclipse, they took the omen to heart and their spirit abated, so that they did no further harm to this detachment and dispatched envoys again to Tiberius. Meanwhile a great storm came up; and when in consequence all had retired to their own quarters, the boldest spirits were put out of the way in one manner or another, either by Drusus himself in his own tent, whither they had been summoned as if for some other purpose, or else by his followers; and the rest were reduced to submission, and even surrendered for punishment some of their number whom they represented to have been responsible for the mutiny. A.D. 14

These troops, then, were reduced to quiet in the manner described; but the soldiers in the province of Germany, where many had been assembled on account of the war, would not hear of moderation, since they saw that Germanicus was at once a Caesar and far superior to Tiberius, but putting forward the same demands as the others, they heaped abuse upon Tiberius and saluted Germanicus as emperor. When the latter after much pleading found himself unable to reduce them to order, he finally drew his sword as if to slay himself; at this they jeeringly shouted their approval, and one of them proffered his own sword, saying: "Take this; this is sharper." Germanicus, accordingly, seeing to what lengths the matter had gone, did not venture to kill himself, particularly as he did not believe they would stop their disturbance in any case. Instead, he composed a letter purporting to have been sent by Tiberius and then gave them twice the amount of the gift bequeathed them by Augustus,

σφισι διπλῆν ὡς καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου ἔδωκε, καὶ τοὺς
4 ἔξω τῆς ἡλικίας ἀφῆκε· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἀστικοῦ ὄχλου, οὓς ὁ Αὔγουστος μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Οὐάρου συμφορὰν προσκατέλεξεν, οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν ἦσαν. τότε μὲν οὖν οὕτω στασιάζοντες ἐπαύσαντο· ὕστερον δὲ πρεσβευτῶν παρὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου βουλευτῶν ἐλθόντων, οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ μόνα
5 εἶπεν ὅσα τὸν Γερμανικὸν μαθεῖν ἠθέλησεν (εὖ τε γὰρ ἠπίστατο πάντως σφᾶς ἐροῦντάς οἱ πάντα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διανοήματα, καὶ οὐκ ἠβουλήθη παρὰ ταῦτα οὐδέν, ὡς καὶ μόνα ὄντα, οὔτε ἐκείνους οὔτε τὸν Γερμανικὸν πολυπραγμονῆσαι), τούτων οὖν ἀφικομένων οἱ στρατιῶται τό τε τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ στρατήγημα μαθόντες, καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν πεπραγμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταλύσει παρόντας ὑποπτεύσαντες, ἐθορύβησαν
6 αὖθις, καὶ τῶν τε πρέσβεων ὀλίγου τινὰς ἀπέσφαξαν καὶ ἐκείνῳ[1] ἐνέκειντο, τήν τε γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ Ἀγριππῖναν, τοῦ τε Ἀγρίππου καὶ τῆς Ἰουλίας τῆς τοῦ Αὐγούστου θυγατέρα[2] οὖσαν, καὶ τὸν υἱόν, ὃν Γάιον Καλιγόλαν, ὅτι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὸ πλεῖστον τραφεὶς τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς ὑποδήμασιν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀστικῶν ἐχρῆτο, προσωνόμαζον, ὑπεκπεμφθέντας ποι ὑπὸ τοῦ
7 Γερμανικοῦ συνέλαβον. καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἀγριππῖναν ἐγκύμονα οὖσαν ἀφῆκαν αὐτῷ δεηθέντι, τὸν δὲ δὴ Γάιον κατέσχον. χρόνῳ δ' οὖν ποτε καὶ τότε, ὡς οὐδὲν ἐπέραινον, ἡσύχασαν, καὶ ἐς τοσαύτην γε μεταβολὴν ἦλθον ὥστε καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς θρασυτάτους σφῶν αὐτοκέλευστοι συλλαβεῖν καὶ τοὺς

[1] ἐκείνῳ supplied by Bk.
[2] θυγατέρα R. Steph., θυγατρὸς θυγατέρα M.

pretending it was the emperor who did this, and discharged those who were beyond the military age; for most of them belonged to the city troops that Augustus had enrolled as an extra force after the disaster to Varus. As a result of this they ceased their seditious behaviour for the time. Later on came senators as envoys from Tiberius, to whom he had secretly communicated only so much as he wished Germanicus to know; for he well understood that they would surely tell Germanicus all his own plans, and he did not wish that either they or that leader should busy themselves about anything beyond the instructions given, which were supposed to comprise everything. Now when these men arrived and the soldiers learned about the ruse of Germanicus, they suspected that the senators had come to overthrow their leader's measures, and so they fell to rioting once more. They almost killed some of the envoys and became very insistent with Germanicus, even seizing his wife Agrippina and his son, both of whom had been sent away by him to some place of refuge. Agrippina was the daughter of Agrippa and Julia, Augustus' daughter; the boy Gaius was called by them Caligula, because, having been reared largely in the camp, he wore military boots[1] instead of the sandals usual in the city. Then at Germanicus' request they released Agrippina, who was pregnant, but retained Gaius. On this occasion, also, as they accomplished nothing, they grew quiet after a time. In fact, they experienced such a change of heart that of their own accord they arrested the boldest of their number, putting some of them to A.D. 14

[1] *Caligae.*

μὲν ἰδίᾳ ἀποκτεῖναι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ μέσον ἀγαγόντες ἔπειτα πρὸς τὸ τῶν πλειόνων βούλημα τοὺς μὲν ἀποσφάξαι τοὺς δ' ἀπολῦσαι.
6 φοβηθεὶς δ' οὖν καὶ ὣς ὁ Γερμανικὸς μὴ καὶ αὖθις στασιάσωσιν, ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ἀσχολίαν τε ἅμα αὐτοῖς καὶ τροφὴν ἄφθονον ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων παρέχων ἐνεχρόνισε.

2 Καὶ ὁ μὲν δυνηθεὶς ἂν τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν λαβεῖν (ἡ γὰρ εὔνοια πάντων ἁπλῶς τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων σφῶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐποίει) οὐκ ἠθέλησε· Τιβέριος δὲ ἐπῄνεσε μὲν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ κεχαρισμένα καὶ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῇ Ἀγριππίνῃ ἐπέστειλεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἥσθη οἷς ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ
3 τὰ στρατεύματα ἀνηρτημένον ἔδεισεν. οὐ γάρ που καὶ φρονεῖν οὕτως ὡς[1] ἐδόκει, ἐξ ὧν ἑαυτῷ συνῄδει ἄλλα μὲν λέγοντι ἄλλα δὲ ποιοῦντι, ὑπελάμβανεν, ὥσθ' ὑπετόπει μὲν καὶ ἐκεῖνον, ὑπετόπει δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ· ἦν γὰρ ἀντίπαλον τὸ φρόνημα τῷ τοῦ γένους ὄγκῳ
4 ἔχουσα. οὐ μὴν καὶ προσεποιεῖτο ἄχθεσθαί σφισιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαίνους ἐν τῇ βουλῇ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ πολλοὺς ἐποιήσατο, καὶ θυσίας ἐπὶ τοῖς πραχθεῖσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Δρούσου, γενέσθαι ἐσηγήσατο. τοῖς τε στρατιώταις τοῖς ἐν τῇ Παννονίᾳ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς
5 ὑπ' ἐκείνου δοθεῖσιν ἐδωρήσατο· ἐς μέντοι τὸ ἔπειτα οὐ πρότερον τοὺς ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας στρατευομένους ἀπέλυε πρὶν τὰ εἴκοσιν ἔτη στρατεύσασθαι.

7 Ὡς δ' οὖν οὐδὲν ἔτι νεώτερον ἠγγέλλετο, ἀλλὰ

[1] ὡς supplied by Reim.

death privately and bringing the rest before an assembly, after which they either slew them or released them in accordance with the wishes of the majority. But Germanicus, being afraid even so that they would fall to rioting again, invaded the enemy's country and tarried there, giving the troops plenty of work and food in abundance at the expense of aliens. A.D. 14

Thus, though Germanicus might have obtained the imperial power,—for he had the good will of absolutely all the Romans as well as of their subjects,—he refused it. For this Tiberius praised him and sent many pleasing messages both to him and to Agrippina; and yet he was not pleased with his conduct, but feared him all the more because he had won the attachment of the legions. For he assumed, from his own consciousness of saying one thing and doing another, that Germanicus' real sentiments were not what they seemed, and hence he was suspicious of Germanicus and suspicious likewise of his wife, who was possessed of an ambition commensurate with her lofty lineage. Yet he displayed no sign of irritation toward them, but delivered many eulogies of Germanicus in the senate and also proposed that sacrifices should be offered in honour of the achievements of Germanicus just as in the case of those of Drusus. Also he bestowed upon the soldiers in Pannonia the same rewards as Germanicus had granted to his troops For the future, however, he refused to release soldiers in the service outside of Italy until they had served the full twenty years.

Now when no further news of any rebellious

ἀσφαλῶς πάντα τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐς τὴν ἡγε-
μονίαν αὐτοῦ συνεφρόνησε, τήν τε ἀρχὴν οὐδὲν
ἔτι εἰρωνευόμενος ὑπεδέξατο, καὶ ἐν τοιῷδε αὐτὴν
τρόπῳ, ἐφ᾽ ὅσον ὁ Γερμανικὸς ἔζη, διήγαγεν.
2 αὐτὸς μὲν καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἢ τι ἢ οὐδὲν ἔπραττε,
πάντα δὲ δὴ καὶ τὰ σμικρότατα ἔς τε τὴν γερου-
σίαν ἐσέφερε καὶ ἐκείνῃ ἐκοίνου. ἐπεποίητο μὲν
γὰρ βῆμα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ἐφ᾽ οὗ προκαθίζων ἐχρη-
μάτιζε, καὶ συμβούλους ἀεὶ κατὰ τὸν Αὔγουστον
παρελάμβανεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ διῴκει λόγου τι
3 ἄξιον ὃ μὴ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπεκοίνου. καὶ ἔς γε
τὸ μέσον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην τιθεὶς οὐχ ὅπως
ἀντειπεῖν αὐτῇ παντί τῳ παρρησίαν ἔνεμεν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τἀναντία οἱ ἔστιν ὅτε ψηφιζομένων τινῶν
ἔφερε. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ψῆφον πολλάκις ἐδίδου.
ὁ μὲν γὰρ Δροῦσος ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς ἄλλοις τοτὲ μὲν
4 πρῶτος τοτὲ δὲ μεθ᾽ ἑτέρους τοῦτ᾽ ἐποίει· ἐκεῖνος
δὲ ἔστι μὲν ὅτε ἐσιώπα, ἔστι δ᾽ ὅτε καὶ πρῶτος ἢ
καὶ μετ᾽ ἄλλους τινὰς ἢ καὶ τελευταῖος τὰ μὲν
ἄντικρυς ἀπεφαίνετο, τὰ δὲ δὴ πλείω, ἵνα δὴ μὴ
δοκῇ τὴν παρρησίαν αὐτῶν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, ἔλεγεν
ὅτι "εἰ γνώμην ἐποιούμην, τὰ καὶ τὰ ἂν ἀπεδει-
5 ξάμην."[1] καὶ ἦν μὲν καὶ τοῦτο τὴν ἴσην τῷ
ἑτέρῳ ἰσχὺν ἔχον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκωλύοντο οἱ
λοιποὶ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὰ δοκοῦντά σφισι λέγειν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ πολλάκις ὁ μὲν τὸ ἐγίγνωσκεν, οἱ δὲ μετ᾽
αὐτὸν ἕτερόν τι ἀνθῃροῦντο, καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ
ἐπεκράτουν· καὶ οὐδενὶ μέντοι παρὰ τοῦτο ὀργὴν
6 εἶχεν. ἐδίκαζε μὲν οὖν ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἐπεφοίτα
δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων δικαστήρια, καὶ

[1] ἀπεδειξάμην Rk., ἐπεδειξάμην M Xiph.

moves came and the whole Roman world had acquiesced securely in his leadership, Tiberius accepted the rule without further dissimulation, and exercised it, so long as Germanicus lived, in the way I am about to describe. He did little or nothing on his own responsibility, but brought all matters, even the slightest, before the senate and communicated them to that body. In the Forum a tribunal had been erected on which he sat in public to dispense justice, and he always associated with himself advisers, after the manner of Augustus; nor did he take any step of consequence without making it known to the rest. After setting forth his own opinion he not only granted everyone full liberty to speak against it, but even when, as sometimes happened, others voted in opposition to him, he submitted; for he often would cast a vote himself. Drusus used to act just like the rest, now speaking first, and again after some of the others. As for Tiberius, he would sometimes remain silent and sometimes give his opinion first, or after a few others, or even last; in some cases he would speak his mind directly, but generally, in order to avoid appearing to take away their freedom of speech, he would say: "If I had been giving my views, I should have proposed this or that." This method was just as effective as the other and yet the rest were not thereby prevented from stating their views. On the contrary, he would frequently express one opinion and those who followed would prefer something different, and sometimes they actually prevailed; yet for all that he harboured anger against no one. He held court himself, as I have stated, but he also attended the courts presided over by the A.D. 14

παρακαλούμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπαράκλητος, καὶ ἐκείνους μὲν ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν χώρᾳ καθῆσθαι εἴα, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βάθρου τοῦ κατάντικρύς σφων κειμένου καθίζων ἔλεγεν ὅσα ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ὡς πάρεδρος.[1]

8 Καὶ τἆλλα δὲ πάντα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον τρόπον ἐποίει. οὔτε γὰρ δεσπότην ἑαυτὸν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις οὔτε αὐτοκράτορα πλὴν τοῖς στρατιώταις καλεῖν ἐφίει, τό τε τοῦ πατρὸς τῆς πατρίδος πρόσρημα παντελῶς διεώσατο, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου οὐκ ἐπέθετο μέν (οὐδὲ γὰρ ψηφισθῆναί ποτε εἴασε), λεγόμενον δ' ἀκούων καὶ γραφόμενον
2 ἀναγιγνώσκων ἔφερε· καὶ ὁσάκις γε βασιλεῦσί τισιν ἐπέστελλε, καὶ ἐκεῖνο προσενέγραφε. τὸ δ' ὅλον Καῖσαρ, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ Γερμανικὸς ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ πραχθέντων, πρόκριτός τε τῆς γερουσίας κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ[2] ὠνομάζετο, καὶ πολλάκις γε ἔλεγεν ὅτι "δεσπότης μὲν τῶν δούλων, αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν,
3 τῶν δὲ δὴ λοιπῶν πρόκριτός εἰμι." εὔχετό τε, ὁσάκις τι τοιοῦτο παραπέσοι,[3] τοσοῦτον καὶ ζῆσαι καὶ ἄρξαι χρόνον ὅσον ἂν τῷ δημοσίῳ συμφέρῃ. καὶ οὕτω γε διὰ πάντων ὁμοίως δημοτικὸς ἦν ὥστε οὔτε ἐν τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ γίγνεσθαί τι παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐπέτρεπεν, οὔτ' ὀμνύναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τύχην συνεχώρει, εἴ τε[4] καὶ ὀμόσας τις αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ὡς καὶ
4 ἐπιωρκηκὼς ἔλαβεν, οὐκ ἐπεξῄει. συνελόντι τε

[1] πάρεδρος Rk., πρόεδρος M Xiph.
[2] After ἑαυτοῦ M repeats κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον.
[3] τι τοιοῦτο παραπέσοι Bs., τοιοῦτό τι παραπέσοι Pflugk, τι τοιοῦτό τι ἄρα πέσοι M.

magistrates, not alone when invited by them, but also when not invited. He would allow them to sit in their regular places, while he himself took his seat on the bench facing them and as an assessor made any remarks that seemed good to him. A.D. 14

In all other matters, too, he behaved in this same way. Thus, he would not allow himself to be called master by the freemen, nor *imperator* except by the soldiers; the title of Father of his Country he rejected absolutely; that of Augustus he did not assume,—in fact he never permitted it to be even voted to him,—but he did not object to hearing it spoken or to reading it when written, and whenever he sent messages to kings, he would regularly include this title in his letters. In general he was called Caesar, sometimes Germanicus (from the exploits of Germanicus), and Chief of the Senate,[1]—the last in accordance with ancient usage and even by himself. He would often declare: "I am master of the slaves, *imperator* of the soldiers, and chief of the rest." He would pray, as often as occasion for praying arose, that he might live and rule so long only as should be to the advantage of the State. And he was so democratic in all circumstances alike, that he would not permit any special observance to be made of his birthday and would not allow people to swear by his Fortune, and if anybody after swearing by it incurred the charge of perjury, he would not prosecute him. In short, he would not at first even sanction the carrying out in his own case of the custom which has regularly been followed on New Year's day down

[1] *Princeps senatus.*

[4] εἴ τε Dind., οὔτε M.

εἰπεῖν, οὐδ' ὅπερ ἐπί τε τῷ Αὐγούστῳ δεῦρο ἀεὶ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἄρξασιν, ὧν γε καὶ λόγον τινὰ ποιούμεθα, ἐπί τε τοῖς τὸ κράτος ἀεὶ ἔχουσιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης γίγνεται, τὸ[1] τά τε πραχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ πραχθησόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀεὶ ζώντων ὅρκοις τισὶ βεβαιοῦσθαι, οὐδὲ τοῦτο τά γε πρῶτα
5 ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ περιεῖδε γενόμενον. καίτοι ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ Αὐγούστου πράξεσι τούς τε ἄλλους πάντας ὥρκου καὶ αὐτὸς ὤμνυε. καὶ ὅπως γε ἐκδηλότερον αὐτὸ ποιοίη, παρεὶς ἂν[2] τὴν νουμηνίαν καὶ μήτε ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσελθὼν μήθ' ὅλως ἐν τῇ πόλει τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ὀφθείς, ἀλλ' ἐν προαστείῳ τινὶ διατρίψας, ἐσῄει τε μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ
6 κατὰ μόνας ἐπιστοῦτο. τούτου τε οὖν ἕνεκα ἔξω που ταῖς νουμηνίαις διῆγε, καὶ ἵνα μηδένα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄσχολον, περί τε τὰς νέας ἀρχὰς καὶ περὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἔχοντα, ποιῇ, ἢ καὶ ἀργύριον παρ' αὐτῶν λαμβάνῃ. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τὸν Αὔγουστον ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐπῄνει διὰ τὸ πολλὴν μὲν δυσχέρειαν ἐν αὐτῷ πολλὴν δὲ καὶ ἀνάλωσιν ἐκ τῆς ἀντιδόσεως γίγνεσθαι.

9 Ταῦτά τε οὖν δημοτικῶς διῴκει, καὶ ὅτι οὔτε τεμένισμα αὐτῷ οὐχ ὅπως αὐθαίρετον ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἄλλως τότε γε ἐτεμενίσθη, οὔτε εἰκόνα ἐξῆν αὐτοῦ οὐδενὶ στῆσαι· ἄντικρυς γὰρ παραχρῆμα ἀπηγόρευσε μήτε πόλει μήτ' ἰδιώτῃ τοῦτο ποιεῖν.
2 προσέθηκε μὲν γὰρ τῇ ἀπορρήσει ὅτι "ἂν μὴ ἐγὼ ἐπιτρέψω," προσεπεῖπε δὲ ὅτι "οὐκ ἐπιτρέψω." ἐπεὶ τό γε ὑβρίσθαι πρός τινος ἢ καὶ τὸ ἠσεβῆσθαι

[1] τὸ added by Pflugk.
[2] παρεὶς ἂν R. Steph., παρεῖσαν M.

to the present time, as a necessary observance in honour not only of Augustus but of all the rulers likewise that have followed him whom we reckon as of any account, and of such as hold the supreme power at the time—I refer to the ratification under oath of their acts both past, and, in the case of those living at the time, future as well. Yet as regarded the acts of Augustus, he not only required all others to take the oath but also took it himself; moreover, in order to do the latter in a more conspicuous manner, he would let New Year's day go by without entering the senate-house or showing himself at all in the city on that day, but spending the time in some suburb, and then would come in later and pledge himself separately. This was one reason why he remained outside on New Year's day; but he also wished to avoid disturbing any of the citizens while they were concerned with the new officials and the festival, as well as to avoid taking money from them. Indeed, he did not commend Augustus for his behaviour in this respect, because it occasioned much embarrassment and great expense in order to return such favours. A.D. 14

Not only in the ways just related were his actions democratic, but no sacred precinct was set apart for him either by his own choice or in any other way,—at that time, I mean,—nor was anybody allowed to set up an image of him; for he promptly and expressly forbade any city or private citizen to do so. To this prohibition, it is true, he attached the proviso, "unless I grant permission," but he added, "I will not grant it." For he would not by any means have it appear that he had been insulted or impiously

πρός τινος (ἀσέβειάν τε γὰρ ἤδη καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὠνόμαζον, καὶ δίκας ἐπ' αὐτῷ πολλὰς ἐσῆγον) ἥκιστα προσεποιεῖτο, οὐδὲ ἔστιν ἥντινα τοιαύτην ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ γραφὴν προσεδέξατο, καίπερ τὸν Αὔ-
3 *γουστον καὶ ἐν τούτῳ σεμνύνων. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον οὐδένα οὐδὲ τῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τινὰ αἰτίαν λαβόντων ἐκόλασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγκληθέντας τινὰς ὡς καὶ ἐπιωρκηκότας τὴν τύχην αὐτοῦ ἀπέλυσε· προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ πάνυ πολλοὺς ἐθανάτωσε.*

10 Καὶ *ἔν τε τούτῳ τὸν Αὔγουστον ἤγαλλε, καὶ ὅτι τά τε οἰκοδομήματα, ἃ προκατεβάλετο μὲν οὐκ ἐξετέλεσε δέ, ἐκποιῶν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπέγραφέ σφισι, τά τε ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ ἡρῷα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅσα οἱ δῆμοι καὶ ὅσα οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐποίουν, τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς καθιέρου, τὰ δὲ τῶν ποντι-*
2 *φίκων τινὶ προσέτασσε. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς οὐκ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις μόνοις τοῖς τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἔργοις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἐπισκευῆς τινος δεηθεῖσιν ἐποίησε· πάντα γὰρ τὰ πεπονηκότα ἀνακτησάμενος (αὐτὸς γὰρ οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐκ καινῆς, πλὴν τοῦ Αὐγουστείου, κατεσκευάσατο) οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἰδιώσατο, ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν πρώτων οἰκοδομησάντων αὐτὰ ὀνόματα πᾶσί σφισιν ἀπέ-*
3 *δωκεν. ἐλάχιστα γὰρ ἐς ἑαυτὸν*[1] *δαπανῶν πλεῖστα ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀνήλισκε, πάντα μὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὰ δημόσια ἔργα τὰ μὲν ἀνοικοδομῶν τὰ δὲ ἐπικοσμῶν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πόλεσι καὶ ἰδιώταις ἐπαρκῶν. τῶν τε βουλευτῶν συχνοὺς πενομένους καὶ μηκέτι*

[1] ἑαυτὸν Xiph. Zon., αὐτὸν M.

treated by anybody (they were already calling such conduct *maiestas* and were bringing many suits on that ground), and he would not hear of any such indictment being brought on his own account, though he paid tribute to the majesty of Augustus in this matter also. At first, to be sure, he did not punish any of those, even, that had incurred charges for their actions in regard to his predecessor, and he actually released some against whom complaint was made that they had perjured themselves after swearing by the Fortune of Augustus; but as time went on, he put great numbers to death. A.D. 14

Not only did he magnify Augustus in the manner stated, but also when completing the buildings which Augustus had begun without finishing them he inscribed upon them the other's name; and in the case of the statues and the shrines which were being erected to Augustus, whether by communities or by private individuals, he either dedicated them himself or instructed one of the pontifices to do so. This principle of inscribing the original builder's name he carried out not only in the case of the buildings erected by Augustus, but in the case of all alike that needed any repairs; for, although he restored all the buildings that had suffered injury (he erected no new ones whatsoever himself except the temple of Augustus), yet he claimed none of them as his own, but restored to all of them the names of the original builders. While expending extremely little for himself, he laid out very large sums for the common good, either rebuilding or adorning practically all the public works and also generously assisting both cities and private individuals. He enriched numerous senators who were poor and on that account no

μηδὲ βουλεύειν διὰ τοῦτ' ἐθέλοντας ἐπλούτισεν.
4 οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀκρίτως αὐτὸ ἐποίει, ἀλλὰ καὶ διέγραφε τοὺς μὲν ὑπ' ἀσελγείας τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ πτωχείας, ὅσοι μηδένα αὐτῆς λογισμὸν εἰκότα ἀποδοῦναι ἐδύναντο. πᾶν τε ὃ ἐδωρεῖτό τισιν εὐθὺς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ ἠριθμεῖτο· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ Αὐγούστου μεγάλα ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων οἱ δοτῆρες αὐτῶν ἀπετέμνοντο, δεινῶς ἐφυλάττετο μὴ καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ τοῦτο γίγνεσθαι.
5 καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα ἐκ τῶν νενομισμένων προσόδων ἐδαπάνα· οὔτε γὰρ ἀπέκτεινε χρημάτων ἕνεκα οὐδένα οὔτ' οὐσίαν τινὸς τότε γε ἐδήμευσεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐξ ἐπηρείας τι ἠργυρολόγησεν. Αἰμιλίῳ γοῦν Ῥήκτῳ χρήματά ποτε αὐτῷ πλείω παρὰ τὸ τεταγμένον ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἧς ἦρχε πέμψαντι ἀντεπέστειλεν ὅτι "κείρεσθαί μου τὰ πρόβατα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀποξύρεσθαι βούλομαι."

11 Καὶ μέντοι καὶ εὐπρόσοδος καὶ εὐπροσήγορος ἰσχυρῶς ἦν. τοὺς γοῦν βουλευτὰς ἀθρόους ἀσπάζεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν, ἵνα μὴ ὠστίζωνται. τό τε σύμπαν τοσαύτην ἐπιείκειαν ἤσκει ὥστε,
2 ἐπειδή ποτε οἱ Ῥοδίων ἄρχοντες ἐπιστείλαντές τι αὐτῷ οὐχ ὑπέγραψαν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ νομιζόμενον, εὐχὰς αὐτῷ ποιούμενοι, μετεπέμψατο μέν σφας σπουδῇ ὡς καὶ κακόν τι δράσων, ἐλθόντας δὲ οὐδὲν δεινὸν εἰργάσατο, ἀλλ' ὑπογράψαντας τὸ ἐνδέον ἀπέπεμψε. τούς τε ἀεὶ
3 ἄρχοντας ὡς ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ ἐτίμα, καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις καὶ ὑπανίστατο· ὁπότε τε αὐτοὺς δειπνίζοι, τοῦτο μὲν ἐσιόντας σφᾶς πρὸς τὰς θύρας ἐξεδέχετο, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἀπιόντας προέπεμπεν.

longer wished to be members of the senate; yet he did not do this indiscriminately, but actually expunged the names of some for licentiousness and of others even for poverty when they could give no satisfactory reason for it. All the money that he bestowed upon people was counted out at once in his sight; for since under Augustus the officials who paid over the money had been wont to deduct large sums for themselves from such donatives, he took good care that this should not happen in his reign. All these expenditures, moreover, he made from the regular revenues; for he neither put anybody to death for his money nor confiscated, at this time, anybody's property, nor did he even resort to tricky methods of obtaining funds. In fact, when Aemilius Rectus once sent him from Egypt, which he was governing, more money than was stipulated, he sent back to him the message: "I want my sheep shorn, not shaven." A.D. 14

He was, moreover, extremely easy to approach and easy to address. For example, he bade the senators greet him in a body and thus avoid jostling one another. In fine, he showed himself so considerate, that once, when the magistrates of the Rhodians sent him some communication and failed to write at the end of the letter the customary formula about offering their prayers for his welfare, he summoned them in haste, as if he intended to do them some harm, but on their arrival, instead of doing anything serious to them, he caused them to supply the missing words and then sent them away. He honoured the annual magistrates as if he were living in a democracy, even rising in his seat at the approach of the consuls; and whenever

εἴ τέ ποτε ἐπὶ τοῦ δίφρου κομίζοιτο,[1] οὐδένα οἱ παρακολουθεῖν οὐχ ὅπως βουλευτὴν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ
4 ἱππέα τῶν πρώτων εἴα. ἔν τε ταῖς πανηγύρεσι, καὶ εἰ δή τι καὶ ἄλλο τοιουτότροπον ἀσχολίαν τοῖς πολλοῖς παρέξειν ἔμελλεν, ἐλθὼν ἂν ἀφ' ἑσπέρας πρός τινα τῶν Καισαρείων τῶν πρὸς τοῖς χωρίοις ἐκείνοις[2] ἐς ἃ συμφοιτῆσαι ἔδει οἰκούντων, ἐνταῦθα τὰς νύκτας ἐνηυλίζετο, ὅπως ἐξ ἑτοιμοτάτου καὶ ἀπονωτάτου τοῖς ἀνθρώποις
5 ἐντυγχάνειν αὐτῷ γίγνοιτο. καὶ τούς γε τῶν ἵππων ἀγῶνας ἐξ οἰκίας καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν ἀπελευθέρων τινὸς πολλάκις ἑώρα. συνεχέστατα γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰς θέας ἀπήντα τῆς τε τιμῆς τῶν ἐπιτελούντων αὐτὰς ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς τοῦ πλήθους εὐκοσμίας, τοῦ τε συνεορτάζειν σφίσι δοκεῖν. οὐ γὰρ οὔτε ἐσπούδασέ ποτε τὸ παράπαν τῶν τοιούτων οὐδέν, οὔτε δόξαν τινὰ ὡς καὶ συσπεύδων τινὶ
6 ἔσχεν. οὕτω τε ἐς πάντα ἴσος καὶ ὅμοιος ἦν ὥστ' ὀρχηστήν τινα τοῦ δήμου ἐλευθερωθῆναί ποτε βουληθέντος μὴ πρότερον συνεπαινέσαι πρὶν τὸν δεσπότην αὐτοῦ καὶ πεισθῆναι καὶ τὴν τιμὴν
7 λαβεῖν. τοῖς τε ἑταίροις ὡς καὶ ἐν ἰδιωτείᾳ συνῆν· καὶ γὰρ δικαζομένοις σφίσι συνηγωνίζετο καὶ θύουσι[3] συνεώρταζε, νοσοῦντάς τε ἐπεσκέπτετο μηδεμίαν φρουρὰν ἐπεσαγόμενος, καὶ ἐφ' ἑνί γέ τινι αὐτῶν τελευτήσαντι τὸν ἐπιτάφιον αὐτὸς εἶπε.

[1] κομίζοιτο Xiph., ἐκομίζετο M.
[2] ἐκείνοις R. Steph., ἐκείν' M ('ων added in margin by corr.)
[3] θύουσι Xiph., θυσιοῦσι M.

he entertained them at dinner, he would both receive them at the door when they entered and escort them on their way when they departed. In case he was at any time being carried anywhere in his litter, he would not even allow any one of the knights who was prominent to accompany him, still less a senator. On the occasion of festivals or as often as anything similar was going to afford the multitude diversion, he would go the evening before to the house of some one of the imperial freedmen who lived near the place where the crowd was to gather, and would spend the night there. His purpose in doing this was, that the people might meet him with as little difficulty and trouble as possible. And he, too, would often watch the equestrian contests from the house of a freedman. For he attended the spectacles very frequently, in order not only to show honour to those who gave them, but also to ensure the orderliness of the multitude and to seem to be sharing in their holiday. As a matter of fact, however, he never felt the slightest enthusiasm for anything of the kind, nor had he the reputation of favouring any one of the contestants. In all respects he was so fair and impartial that once, when the populace wanted a certain actor manumitted, he would not approve their demand until the man's master had given his consent and had received payment for him. His relations with his companions were such as he would maintain in private life: he stood by them when they were involved in law-suits and joined them in offering sacrifice on festal occasions; he visited them in their sickness, taking no guard into the room with him; and in the case of at least one of them who died he himself delivered the funeral oration. A.D. 14

12 Καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὴν μητέρα πάνθ' ὅσα πρέποντα
αὐτῇ τῶν τοιούτων ποιεῖν ἦν, τὸ μέν τι τῆς
ἑαυτοῦ ζηλώσεως ἕνεκα, τὸ δὲ ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραυχῇ,
2 πράττειν ἐκέλευε. πάνυ γὰρ μέγα καὶ ὑπὲρ
πάσας τὰς πρόσθεν γυναῖκας ὤγκωτο, ὥστε καὶ
τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοὺς ἐθέλοντας οἴκαδε
ἀσπασομένους ἀεί ποτε ἐσδέχεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο
καὶ ἐς τὰ δημόσια ὑπομνήματα ἐσγράφεσθαι.
αἵ τε ἐπιστολαὶ αἱ τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ τὸ ἐκείνης
ὄνομα χρόνον τινὰ ἔσχον, καὶ ἐγράφετο ἀμφοῖν
3 ὁμοίως. πλήν τε ὅτι οὔτε ἐς τὸ συνέδριον οὔτε
ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα οὔτε ἐς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐτόλμησέ
ποτε ἐσελθεῖν, τά γε ἄλλα πάντα ὡς καὶ αὐταρ-
χοῦσα διοικεῖν ἐπεχείρει. ἐπί τε γὰρ τοῦ
Αὐγούστου μέγιστον ἠδυνήθη καὶ τὸν Τιβέριον
αὐτὴ αὐτοκράτορα πεποιηκέναι ἔλεγε, καὶ διὰ
τοῦτο οὐχ ὅσον ἐξ ἴσου οἱ ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
4 πρεσβεύειν αὐτοῦ ἤθελεν. ὅθεν ἄλλα τε ἔξω
τοῦ νενομισμένου ἐσεφέρετο, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν
μητέρα αὐτὴν τῆς πατρίδος πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ γονέα
προσαγορεύεσθαι γνώμην ἔδωκαν. ἄλλοι καὶ
τὸν Τιβέριον ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐπικαλεῖσθαι ἐσηγήσαντο,
ὅπως ὥσπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες πατρόθεν, οὕτω καὶ
5 ἐκεῖνος μητρόθεν ὀνομάζηται. ἀγανακτῶν οὖν
ἐπὶ τούτοις οὔτε τὰ ψηφιζόμενα αὐτῇ πλὴν
ἐλαχίστων ἐπεκύρου, οὔτ' ἄλλο τι ὑπέρογκον
ποιεῖν ἐπέτρεπεν. εἰκόνα γοῦν ποτε αὐτῆς οἴκοι
τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ὁσιωσάσης, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν
βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν
ἑστιᾶσαι ἐθελησάσης, οὔτ' ἄλλως συνεχώρησέν

Moreover, he bade his mother conduct herself in a similar manner, so far as it was fitting for her to do so, partly that she might imitate him and partly to prevent her from becoming over-proud. For she occupied a very exalted station, far above all women of former days, so that she could at any time receive the senate and such of the people as wished to greet her in her house; and this fact was entered in the public records. The letters of Tiberius bore for a time her name, also, and communications were addressed to both alike. Except that she never ventured to enter the senate-chamber or the camps or the public assemblies, she undertook to manage everything as if she were sole ruler. For in the time of Augustus she had possessed the greatest influence and she always declared that it was she who had made Tiberius emperor; consequently she was not satisfied to rule on equal terms with him, but wished to take precedence over him. As a result, various extraordinary measures were proposed, many persons expressing the opinion that she should be called Mother of her Country, and many that she should be called Parent. Still others proposed that Tiberius should be named after her, so that, just as the Greeks were called by their father's name, he should be called by that of his mother. All this vexed him, and he would neither sanction the honours voted her, with a very few exceptions, nor otherwise allow her any extravagance of conduct. For instance, she had once dedicated in her house an image to Augustus, and in honour of the event wished to give a banquet to the senate and the knights together with their wives, but he would not permit her to carry out any part of this programme until the senate had

A.D. 14

οἱ τοῦτο πρᾶξαι πρὶν τὴν γερουσίαν ψηφίσασθαι, οὔτε τότε τοὺς ἄνδρας δειπνίσαι,[1] ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν
6 τούτοις ἐκείνη δὲ ταῖς γυναιξὶν εἱστίασε. καὶ τέλος τῶν μὲν δημοσίων παντάπασιν αὐτὴν ἀπήλλαξε, τὰ δ' οἴκοι διοικεῖν οἱ ἐφείς, εἶθ' ὡς καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἐπαχθὴς ἦν, ἀποδημίας τε ἐστέλλετο καὶ πάντα τρόπον αὐτὴν ἐξίστατο, ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὴν Καπρίαν δι' ἐκείνην οὐχ ἥκιστα μεταστῆναι.

13 Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῆς Λιουίας παραδέδοται· ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος αὐτὸς μὲν τραχύτερον τοὺς αἰτιαζομένους τι μετεχειρίζετο, τῷ δὲ δὴ Δρούσῳ τῷ υἱεῖ καὶ ἀσελγεστάτῳ καὶ ὠμοτάτῳ, ὥστε καὶ τὰ ὀξύτατα τῶν ξιφῶν Δρουσιανὰ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κληθῆναι, ὄντι καὶ ἤχθετο καὶ ἐπετίμα καὶ ἰδίᾳ
2 καὶ δημοσίᾳ πολλάκις. καί ποτε αὐτῷ καὶ ἄντικρυς πολλῶν παρόντων εἶπεν ὅτι "ζῶντος μέν μου οὐδὲν οὔτε βίαιον οὔθ' ὑβριστικὸν πράξεις· ἂν δέ τι καὶ τολμήσῃς, οὐδὲ τελευτήσαντος."
3 σωφρονέστατα γὰρ χρόνον τινὰ διεγένετο, καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδενὶ ἀσελγαίνειν ἐφίει, ἀλλὰ καὶ συχνοὺς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐκόλαζε, καίτοι τῶν βουλευτῶν ποτε ἐπιτίμιόν τι κατὰ τῶν ἀσώτως ζώντων νομοθετηθῆναι ἐθελησάντων μήτε τι τάξας, καὶ προσεπειπὼν ὅτι ἄμεινόν ἐστιν ἰδίᾳ τρόπον τινὰ αὐτοὺς σωφρονίζειν ἢ κοινήν σφισι
4 τιμωρίαν ἐπιθεῖναι. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἂν τῷ φόβῳ τῆς αἰσχύνης καὶ μετριάσαι τινὰ αὐτῶν, ὥστε καὶ λαθεῖν ἐπιχειρῆσαι· ἂν δ' ἅπαξ ὁ νόμος ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐκνικηθῇ, μηδένα αὐτοῦ προτιμήσειν.
5 καὶ ἐπειδή γε πολλῇ ἐσθῆτι ἁλουργεῖ καὶ ἄνδρες

[1] δειπνίσαι H. Steph., δειπνῆσαι M.

so voted, and not even then to receive the men at dinner; instead, he entertained the men and she the women. Finally he removed her entirely from public affairs, but allowed her to direct matters at home; then, as she was troublesome even in that capacity, he proceeded to absent himself from the city and to avoid her in every way possible; indeed, it was chiefly on her account that he removed to Capreae. Such are the reports that have been handed down about Livia. A.D. 14

Tiberius, now, began to treat more harshly those who were accused of any crime, and he became angry with his son Drusus, who was most licentious and cruel (so cruel, in fact, that the sharpest swords were called Drusian after him), and he often rebuked him both privately and publicly. Once he said to him outright in the presence of many witnesses: "While I am alive you shall commit no deed of violence or insolence; and if you dare to try, not after I am dead, either." For Tiberius lived a very temperate life for a time, and would not allow any one else to indulge in licentiousness, but punished many for it. And yet once, when the senators desired to have a penalty imposed by law upon those who were guilty of lewd living, he would make no such provision, explaining that it is better to correct them privately in some way or other than to inflict any public punishment upon them. For under existing conditions, he said, there was a chance that some of them would restrain themselves through fear of disgrace, in the endeavour to escape detection; but if the law should once be overcome by human nature, no one would pay any heed to it. Not a few men, also, were wearing a great deal of

συχνοὶ καίπερ ἀπαγορευθὲν πρότερον ἐχρῶντο, διεμέμψατο μὲν οὐδένα οὐδὲ ἐζημίωσεν οὐδένα, ὑετοῦ δὲ ἐν πανηγύρει τινὶ γενομένου φαιὰν μανδύην ἐπενέδυ· κἀκ τούτου οὐκέτ' οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀλλοῖον ἔσθημα λαβεῖν ἐτόλμησε.

6 Ταῦθ' οὕτω πάντα μέχρι γε καὶ ὁ Γερμανικὸς
ἔζη ἐποίει· μετὰ γὰρ τοῦτο συχνὰ αὐτῶν μετέ-
βαλεν, εἴτ' οὖν φρονῶν μὲν οὕτως ἀπὸ πρώτης
ὡς ὕστερον διέδειξε, πλασάμενος δὲ ἐφ' ὅσον
ἐκεῖνος ἐβίω, ἐπειδήπερ ἐφεδρεύοντα αὐτὸν τῇ
ἡγεμονίᾳ ἑώρα, εἴτε καὶ πεφυκὼς μὲν εὖ, ἐξοκείλας
14 δ' ὅτε τοῦ ἀνταγωνιστοῦ ἐστερήθη. λέξω δὲ
καὶ κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς ὡς ἕκαστα ἐγένετο, ὅσα
γε καὶ μνήμης ἄξιά ἐστιν.

Ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ Δρούσου τοῦ υἱέος αὐτοῦ Γαΐου τε
Νωρβανοῦ ὑπάτων τῷ δήμῳ τὰ καταλειφθέντα
ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἀπέδωκεν, ἐπειδὴ προσελθών
τις πρὸς νεκρὸν διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐκφερόμενον καὶ
πρὸς τὸ οὖς αὐτοῦ προσκύψας ἐψιθύρισέ τι, καὶ
ἐρομένων τῶν ἰδόντων ὅ τι εἰρήκοι, ἐντετάλθαι
ἔφη τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ὅτι οὐδέπω οὐδὲν ἐκομίσαντο.
2 ἐκεῖνον μὲν γὰρ αὐτίκα ἀπέκτεινεν, ἵνα αὐτάγ-
γελος αὐτῷ, ὥς που καὶ ἐπισκώπτων εἶπε,
γένηται, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀπήλλαξε,
κατὰ πέντε καὶ ἑξήκοντα δραχμὰς διανείμας.
3 καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει γενέσθαι τινὲς
λέγουσι· τότε δὲ ἱππέων τινῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν

purple clothing, though this had formerly been forbidden; yet he neither rebuked nor fined any of them, but when a rain came up during a certain festival, he himself put on a dark woollen cloak. After that none of them longer dared assume any different kind of garb. A.D. 14

Such was Tiberius' behaviour in all matters as long as Germanicus lived; but after his death he changed his course in many respects. Perhaps he had been at heart from the first what he later showed himself to be, and had been merely shamming while Germanicus was alive, because he saw his rival lying in wait for the sovereignty; or perhaps he was excellent by nature, but drifted into vice when deprived of his rival. I will relate now in due order the various events of his reign in so far as they are worthy of record.

In the consulship of Drusus, his son, and of Gaius Norbanus he paid over to the people the bequests made by Augustus. But this was only after someone had approached a corpse that was being borne out through the Forum for burial and bending down had whispered something in its ear; when the spectators asked what he had said, he stated that he had sent word to Augustus that they had not received anything yet. Tiberius, now, put this fellow to death at once, in order, as he jokingly remarked, that he might carry his own message to Augustus; but it was not long afterwards that he discharged his debt to the rest, distributing to them two hundred and sixty sesterces apiece. Some, indeed, state that this payment was made in the previous year. At the time in question some knights desired to fight in single combat in the games which A.D. 15

οὓς ὁ Δροῦσος ὑπέρ τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ διέθηκε[1] *μονομαχῆσαι ἐθελησάντων*
τὸν μὲν ἀγῶνα αὐτῶν οὐκ εἶδε, σφαγέντος δὲ
τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸν ἕτερον οὐκέτ' εἴασεν ὁπλομα-
4 *χῆσαι. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι ἐν τῇ τῶν τοῦ*
Αὐγούστου γενεσίων ἱπποδρομίᾳ μάχαι, καί
τινα καὶ θηρία ἐσφάγη. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ
πολλὰ ἔτη οὕτως ἐποιήθη· τότε δὲ ἡ Κρήτη
τοῦ ἄρχοντος αὐτῆς ἀποθανόντος τῷ τε ταμίᾳ
καὶ τῷ παρέδρῳ αὐτοῦ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον προσε-
5 *τάχθη. ἐπειδή τε συχνοὶ τῶν τὰ ἔθνη κληρου-*
μένων ἐπὶ πολὺ ἔν τε τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ λοιπῇ
Ἰταλίᾳ ἐνδιέτριβον, ὥστε τοὺς προάρξαντας
αὐτῶν παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς χρονίζειν, ἐκέλευσέ
σφισιν ἐντὸς τῆς τοῦ Ἰουνίου νουμηνίας ἀφορμᾶ-
6 *σθαι. κἀν τούτῳ τοῦ ἐκγόνου*[2] *αὐτοῦ, ὃν ἐκ τοῦ*
Δρούσου εἶχε, τελευτήσαντος οὐδὲν ὅ τι τῶν
συνήθων οὐκ ἔπραξε, μήτ' ἄλλως ἀξιῶν τὸν
ἄρχοντά τινων πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας συμφορὰς τῆς
τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελείας ἐξίστασθαι, καὶ τοὺς
λοιποὺς ἐθίζων[3] *μὴ διὰ τοὺς οἰχομένους καὶ τὰ*
τῶν ζώντων προΐεσθαι.
7 Τοῦ τε *ποταμοῦ τοῦ* Τιβέριδος *πολλὰ τῆς*
πόλεως κατασχόντος ὥστε πλευσθῆναι, οἱ μὲν
ἄλλοι ἐν τέρατος λόγῳ καὶ τοῦτο, ὥσπερ που
τό τε μέγεθος τῶν σεισμῶν ὑφ' ὧν καὶ μέρος τι
τοῦ τείχους ἔπεσε, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κεραυνῶν
ὑφ' ὧν καὶ οἶνος ἐξ ἀγγείων ἀθραύστων ἐξετάκη,
8 *ἐλάμβανον, ἐκεῖνος δὲ δὴ νομίσας ἐκ πολυπλη-*

[1] *διέθηκε* Bs., *δὴ διέθηκε* M.
[2] *ἐκγόνου* M, *ἐγγόνου* Xiph. Zon.

Drusus had arranged in his own name and in that of Germanicus; but Tiberius did not witness their combat, and when one of them was killed, he forbade the other to fight as a gladiator again. There were also other contests in connexion with the Circensian games given in honour of Augustus' birthday; and a few beasts, also, were slain. This continued to be done for a number of years. At this time, too, Crete, upon the death of its governor, was entrusted to the quaestor and his assessor for the unexpired period. Since, also, many of those to whom provinces had been allotted were accustomed to linger a long while in Rome and other parts of Italy, so that their predecessors continued in office beyond the appointed time, Tiberius commanded that they should take their departure by the first day of June. Meanwhile his grandson by Drusus died, but he neglected none of his customary duties; for he did not think it right in any case that one who was governing others should neglect his care of the public interests because of his private misfortunes, and moreover he was trying to accustom the rest not to jeopardize the interests of the living on account of the dead. A.D. 15

When now the river Tiber overflowed a large part of the city, so that people went about in boats, most people regarded this, also, as an omen, like the violent earthquakes which shook down a portion of the city wall and like the frequent thunderbolts which caused wine to leak even from vessels that were sound; the emperor, however, thinking that it was due to the great over-abundance of surface

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[3] ἐθίζων Leuncl., καθίζων M.

θίας ναμάτων αὐτὸ γεγονέναι πέντε ἀεὶ βουλευτὰς κληρωτοὺς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ ποταμοῦ προσέταξεν, ἵνα μήτε τοῦ χειμῶνος πλεονάζῃ μήτε τοῦ θέρους ἐλλείπῃ, ἀλλ' ἴσος ὅτι μάλιστα ἀεὶ ῥέῃ.

9 Τιβέριος μὲν ταῦτα ἔπραττεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Δροῦσος τὰ μὲν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ προσήκοντα ἐξ ἴσου τῷ συνάρχοντι ὥσπερ τις ἰδιώτης διετέλεσε, καὶ κληρονόμος γε ὑπό τινος καταλειφθεὶς τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ συνεξήνεγκε, τῇ μέντοι ὀργῇ οὕτω χαλεπῇ ἐχρῆτο ὥστε καὶ πληγὰς ἱππεῖ ἐπιφανεῖ δοῦναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Κάστωρ παρωνύμιον λαβεῖν.

10 τῇ τε μέθῃ κατακορὴς οὕτως ἐγίγνετο ὥστε ποτὲ νυκτὸς ἐμπρησθεῖσί τισιν ἐπικουρῆσαι μετὰ τῶν δορυφόρων ἀναγκασθείς, ὕδωρ αὐτῶν αἰτούντων, θερμόν σφισιν ἐγχέαι κελεῦσαι. τοῖς τε ὀρχησταῖς οὕτω προσέκειτο ὥστε καὶ στασιάζειν αὐτοὺς καὶ μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων, οὓς ὁ Τιβέριος ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐσενηνόχει, καθίστασθαι.

15 Τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, Στατιλίου δὲ Ταύρου μετὰ Λουκίου Λίβωνος ὑπατεύσαντος ὁ Τιβέριος ἀπεῖπε μὲν ἐσθῆτι σηρικῇ μηδένα ἄνδρα χρῆσθαι, ἀπεῖπε δὲ καὶ χρυσῷ σκεύει μηδένα πλὴν πρὸς

2 τὰ ἱερὰ νομίζειν. ἐπεί τε διηπόρησάν τινες εἰ καὶ τὰ ἀργυρᾶ τὰ χρυσοῦν τι ἔμβλημα ἔχοντα ἀπηγορευμένον σφίσιν εἴη κεκτῆσθαι, βουληθεὶς

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[1] This was the name of a celebrated gladiator of the time. Cf. Horace, *Ep.* i. 18, 19.

[2] Among the Greeks and Romans not only cold but also hot water, the latter probably flavoured with spices or herbs, was ordinarily served with wine. "Water!" was a request with which Drusus had grown only too familiar at drinking-

water, appointed five senators, chosen by lot, to constitute a permanent board to look after the river, so that it should neither overflow in winter nor fail in summer, but should maintain as even a flow as possible all the time. A.D. 15

While Tiberius was carrying out these measures, Drusus performed the duties pertaining to the consulship equally with his colleague, just as any ordinary citizen might have done; and when he was left heir to someone's estate, he assisted in carrying out the body. Yet he was so given to violent anger that he inflicted blows upon a distinguished knight, and for this exploit received the nickname of Castor.[1] And he was becoming so heavy a drinker, that one night, when he was forced to lend aid with the Pretorians to some people whose property was on fire and they called for water, he gave the order: "Serve it to them hot."[2] He was so friendly with the actors, that this class raised a tumult and could not be brought to order even by the laws that Tiberius had introduced for regulating them. These were the events of that year.

In the consulship of Statilius Taurus and Lucius Libo, Tiberius forbade any man to wear silk clothing and also forbade anyone to use golden vessels except for sacred ceremonies. And when some were at a loss to know whether they were also forbidden to possess silver vessels having any inlaid work of gold, A.D. 16

bouts, and he now uses words appropriate to such an occasion: ἐγχέαι (literally "pour out") and θερμόν. Both hot water and hot viands were regarded by Caligula and Claudius as being inappropriate to a season of public mourning, and their sale was therefore prohibited at such times; see lix. 11, 6 and lx. 6, 7.

καὶ περὶ τούτου τι δόγμα ποιῆσαι, ἐκώλυσεν ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ ἐμβλήματος ὡς καὶ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐμβληθῆναι, καίτοι μὴ ἔχων ὅπως ἐπιχωρίως αὐτὸ ὀνομάσῃ. ἐκεῖνό τε οὖν οὕτως ἐποίησε,
3 ρίως αὐτὸ ὀνομάσῃ. ἐκεῖνό τε οὖν οὕτως ἐποίησε, καὶ ἑκατοντάρχου ἑλληνιστὶ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ μαρτυρῆσαί τι ἐθελήσαντος οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, καίπερ πολλὰς μὲν δίκας ἐν τῇ διαλέκτῳ ταύτῃ καὶ ἐκεῖ λεγομένας ἀκούων, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς
4 ἐπερωτῶν. τοῦτό τε οὖν οὐχ ὁμολογούμενον ἔπραξε, καὶ Λούκιον Σκριβώνιον Λίβωνα, νεανίσκον εὐπατρίδην δόξαντά τι νεωτερίζειν, τέως μὲν ἔρρωτο, οὐκ ἔκρινε, νοσήσαντα δὲ ἐπιθάνατον[1] ἔν τε σκιμποδίῳ καταστέγῳ, ὁποίῳ αἱ τῶν βουλευτῶν γυναῖκες χρῶνται, ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν
5 ἐσεκόμισε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀναβολῆς τινος γενομένης ἑαυτὸν προαπεχρήσατο, καὶ τελευτήσαντα εὔθυνε, τά τε χρήματα αὐτοῦ τοῖς κατηγόροις διέδωκε,[2] καὶ θυσίας ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐχ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον ἕνεκα ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Αὐγούστου τοῦ τε πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰουλίου, καθάπερ ποτὲ ἐδέδοκτο, ψηφισθῆναι
6 ἐποίησε. ταῦτα δὲ περὶ τοῦτον πράξας, Οὐιβίῳ[3] Ῥούφῳ οὔτε ἐνεκάλεσέ τι ἀρχὴν ὅτι τῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος δίφρῳ, ἐφ' οὗ ἀεί ποτε ἐκαθίζετο καὶ ἐφ' οὗ καὶ ἐσφάγη, ἐχρῆτο. τοῦτό τε γὰρ ὁ Ῥοῦφος ἐπιτηδεύσας ἔπραττε, καὶ τῇ τοῦ Κικέρωνος γυναικὶ συνῴκει, σεμνυνόμενος ἐφ' ἑκατέρῳ ὥσπερ ἢ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα ῥήτωρ ἢ διὰ τὸν
7 δίφρον Καῖσαρ ἐσόμενος. οὐ μὴν οὔτε αἰτίαν

[1] ἐπιθάνατον Bk., ἐπὶ θάνατον M.
[2] διέδωκε Reim., ἐδεδώκει M.
[3] Οὐιβίῳ Bk., ουειουίωι M.

he wished to issue a decree about this, too, but would not allow the word *emblema*, since it was a Greek term, to be inserted in the decree, even though he could find no native word for inlaid work. Such was the course he took in this matter. Similarly, when a certain centurion wished to give some evidence before the senate in Greek, he would not permit it, in spite of the fact that he was wont to hear many cases tried and to examine many witnesses himself in that language in that very place. This was one instance of inconsistency on his part; another was seen in his treatment of Lucius Scribonius Libo, a young noble suspected of revolutionary designs. So long as this man was well, he did not bring him to trial, but when he became sick unto death, he caused him to be brought into the senate in a covered litter, such as the wives of the senators use; then, when there was a slight delay and Libo committed suicide before his trial could come off, he passed judgment upon him after his death, gave his money to his accusers, and caused sacrifices to be offered to commemorate the man's death, not only on his own account, but also on that of Augustus and of the latter's father Julius, as had been decreed in past times. Though he took such action in the case of Libo, he brought no charge at all against Vibius Rufus, who was using the chair on which Caesar had always been accustomed to sit and on which he had been slain. Indeed, Rufus not only made a practice of doing this, but he also had Cicero's wife as his consort, and prided himself on both these grounds, evidently thinking that he should either become an orator because of his wife or a Caesar because of the chair. And yet A.D. 16

τινὰ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔσχε καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὑπάτευσε.

Καὶ μέντοι τῷ τε Θρασύλλῳ ἀεὶ συνὼν καὶ μαντείᾳ τινὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν χρώμενος, αὐτός τε ἀκριβῶν οὕτω τὸ πρᾶγμα ὥστε ποτὲ ὄναρ δοῦναί τινι ἀργύριον κελευσθεὶς συνεῖναί τε ὅτι δαίμων τις ἐκ γοητείας οἱ ἐπιπέμπεται καὶ
8 τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀποκτεῖναι, πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους τούς τε ἀστρολόγους καὶ τοὺς γόητας, εἴ τέ τινα ἕτερον καὶ ὁποιονοῦν τρόπον ἐμαντεύετό τις, τοὺς μὲν ξένους ἐθανάτωσε, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας, ὅσοι καὶ τότε ἔτι, μετὰ τὸ πρότερον δόγμα δι' οὗ ἀπηγόρευτο μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ἐν τῇ πόλει μεταχειρίζεσθαι, ἐσηγγέλθησαν τῇ τέχνῃ χρώμενοι, ὑπερώρισε·
9 τοῖς γὰρ πειθαρχήσασιν αὐτῶν ἄδεια ἐδόθη. καὶ σύμπαντες δ' ἂν οἱ πολῖται καὶ παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἀφείθησαν, εἰ μὴ δήμαρχός τις ἐκώλυσεν. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἄν τις τὸ τῆς δημοκρατίας σχῆμα κατενόησεν, ὅτι ἡ βουλὴ τοῦ τε Δρούσου καὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου, συνέπαινος Γναίῳ Καλπουρνίῳ Πίσωνι[1] γενομένη, κατεκράτησε, καὶ αὐτὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ δημάρχου ἡττήθη.

16 Ταῦτά τε οὖν οὕτως ἐπράχθη, καὶ ἐκ τῶν πέρυσι τεταμιευκότων ἐς τὰ ἔθνη τινὲς ἐξεπέμφθησαν, ἐπειδήπερ οἱ τότε ταμιεύοντες ἐλάττους αὐτῶν ἦσαν. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ αὖθις, ὁσάκις
2 ἐδέησεν, ἐγένετο. ἐπεί τε πολλὰ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων τὰ μὲν καὶ παντελῶς ἀπωλώλει, τὰ δὲ ἐξίτηλα γοῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου ἐγεγόνει, τρεῖς βουλευταὶ προεχειρίσθησαν ὥστε τά τε ὄντα

[1] Πίσωνι R. Steph., πείσωνι M.

he received no censure for this, but actually became consul. A.D. 16

Tiberius, moreover, was forever in the company of Thrasyllus and made some use of the art of divination every day, becoming so proficient in the subject himself, that when he was once bidden in a dream to give money to a certain man, he realized that a spirit had been called up before him by deceit, and so put the man to death. But as for all the other astrologers and magicians and such as practised divination in any other way whatsoever, he put to death those who were foreigners and banished all the citizens that were accused of still employing the art at this time after the previous decree by which it had been forbidden to engage in any such business in the city; but to those that obeyed immunity was granted. In fact, all the citizens would have been acquitted even contrary to his wish, had not a certain tribune prevented it. Here was a particularly good illustration of the democratic form of government, inasmuch as the senate, agreeing with the motion of Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso, overruled Drusus and Tiberius, only to be thwarted in its turn by the tribune.

Besides the matters just related, some of the men who had been quaestors the previous year were sent out to the provinces, since the quaestors of the current year were too few in number to fill the places. And this practice was also followed on other occasions, as often as was found necessary. As many of the public records had either perished completely or at least become illegible with the lapse of time, three senators were elected to copy off those that were still extant and to recover the

ἐκγράψασθαι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀναζητῆσαι. ἐμπρησθεῖσί τέ τισιν οὐχ ὅπως ὁ Τιβέριος ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ Λιουία ἤμυνε.

3 Κἀν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει Κλήμης τις, δοῦλός τε τοῦ Ἀγρίππου γεγονὼς καί πῃ καὶ προσεοικὼς αὐτῷ, ἐπλάσατο αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος εἶναι, καὶ ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν ἐλθὼν πολλοὺς μὲν ἐνταῦθα πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ὕστερον προσεποιήσατο, καὶ τέλος καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ὥρμησεν ὡς καὶ τὴν παππῴαν
4 μοναρχίαν ἀποληψόμενος. ταραττομένων τε οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἄστει, καὶ συχνῶν αὐτῷ προστιθεμένων, ὁ Τιβέριος σοφίᾳ αὐτὸν διά τινων ὡς καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου φρονούντων ἐχειρώσατο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο βασανίσας ἵνα τι περὶ τῶν συνεγνωκότων αὐτῷ μάθῃ, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἐξελάλησεν, ἐπύθετο αὐτοῦ "πῶς Ἀγρίππας ἐγένου;" καὶ ὃς ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι "οὕτως ὡς καὶ σὺ Καῖσαρ."

17 Τῷ δ' ἐχομένῳ ἔτει τὸ μὲν τῶν ὑπάτων ὄνομα Γάιός τε Καικίλιος καὶ Λούκιος Φλάκκος ἔλαβον, ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ μετὰ τὴν νουμηνίαν τινὲς ἀργύριον αὐτῷ προσήνεγκαν, οὔτε ἐδέξατο καί τι καὶ γράμμα περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου ἐξέθηκε,
2 ῥήματί τινι μὴ Λατίνῳ χρησάμενος. ἐνθυμηθεὶς οὖν νυκτὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ πάντας τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀκριβοῦντας μετεπέμψατο· πάνυ γὰρ δὴ ἔμελεν αὐτῷ τοῦ καλῶς διαλέγεσθαι. καί τινος Ἀτεΐου Καπίτωνος εἰπόντος ὅτι "εἰ καὶ μηδεὶς πρόσθεν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτ' ἐφθέγξατο, ἀλλὰ νῦν γε πάντες διὰ σὲ ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα αὐτὸ καταριθμήσομεν," Μάρκελλός[1] τις ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη "σύ, Καῖσαρ, ἀνθρώποις μὲν πολιτείαν Ῥωμαίων δύνασαι
3 δοῦναι, ῥήμασι δὲ οὔ." ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἐπὶ

text of the others. Assistance was rendered to the victims of various conflagrations not only by Tiberius but also by Livia. A.D. 16

The same year a certain Clemens, who had been a slave of Agrippa and resembled him to a certain extent, pretended to be Agrippa himself. He went to Gaul and won many to his cause there and many later in Italy, and finally he marched upon Rome with the avowed intention of recovering the dominion of his grandfather. The population of the city became excited at this, and not a few joined his cause; but Tiberius got him into his hands by a ruse with the aid of some persons who pretended to sympathize with the upstart. He thereupon tortured him, in order to learn something about his fellow-conspirators. Then, when the other would not utter a word, he asked him: "How did you come to be Agrippa?" And he replied: "In the same way as you came to be Caesar."

The following year Gaius Caecilius and Lucius Flaccus received the title of consuls. And when some brought Tiberius money at the beginning of the year, he would not accept it and published an edict regarding this very practice, in which he used a word that was not Latin. After thinking it over at night he sent for all who were experts in such matters, for he was extremely anxious to have his diction irreproachable. Thereupon one Ateius Capito declared: "Even if no one has previously used this expression, yet now because of you we shall all cite it as an example of classical usage." But a certain Marcellus replied: "You, Caesar, can confer Roman citizenship upon men, but not upon words." And A.D. 17

[1] Μάρκελλος Xyl., πόρκελλος M Xiph.

τούτῳ κακόν, καίπερ ἀκρατῶς παρρησιασάμενον, ἔδρασε.

Τὸν δὲ δὴ Ἀρχέλαον τὸν τῆς Καππαδοκίας βασιλέα δι᾽ ὀργῆς σχών, ὅτι πρότερόν οἱ ὑποπεπτωκὼς ὥστε καὶ συνηγόρῳ, ὅτε ἐπὶ[1] τοῦ Αὐγούστου ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων κατηγορήθη,
4 χρήσασθαι, μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ μὲν ἐς τὴν Ῥόδον ἀπελθόντος ἠμέλησε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Γάιον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐλθόντα ἐθεράπευσε, μετεπέμψατο ὡς καὶ νεωτερίζοντά τι, καὶ τῇ τῆς γερουσίας ψήφῳ παρέδωκεν, οὐ μόνον ὑπεργήρων[2] ὄντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεινῶς ποδαγρῶντα καὶ προσέτι καὶ παρα-
5 φρονεῖν δοκοῦντα. ἔπαθε μὲν γάρ ποτε τοῦτο ὄντως, ὥστε καὶ ἐπίτροπον παρὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου τῆς ἀρχῆς λαβεῖν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τότε ἔτι παρελήρει, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπλάσσετο, εἴ πως ἔκ γε τούτου σωθείη. κἂν ἐθανατώθη, εἰ μὴ καταμαρτυρῶν τις αὐτοῦ ἔφη ποτὲ αὐτὸν εἰρηκέναι ὅτι "ἐπειδὰν οἴκαδε ἐπανέλθω, δείξω αὐτῷ οἷα νεῦρα ἔχω." γέλωτος γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, διὰ τὸ τὸν ἄνθρωπον μὴ ὅτι στῆναι ἀλλὰ μηδὲ καθίζεσθαι δύνασθαι, πολλοῦ γενομένου οὐκέτ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ Τιβέριος ἀπέ-
6 κτεινεν. οὕτω γάρ τοι κακῶς διέκειτο ὥστε ἐν σκιμποδίῳ καταστέγῳ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσκομισθῆναι (νομιζόμενον γάρ που καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἦν, ὁπότε[3] τις αὐτῶν ἀσθενῶς ἔχων ἐκεῖσε ἐσίοι, κατακείμενον αὐτὸν ἐσφέρεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Τιβέριός ποτε[4] ἐποίησε), καὶ διελέχθη γέ τινα
7 ἐκ τοῦ σκιμποδίου προκύψας. τότε μὲν οὕτως

[1] ἐπὶ R. Steph., ὑπὸ M.
[2] ὑπεργήρων Xiph., ὑπεργήρω M.
[3] ἦν ὁπότε Dind., ἦν ποτε M.
[4] ποτε Bs., πότε M (τότε added in margin by corr.).

the emperor did this man no harm for his remark, in spite of its extreme frankness. A.D. 17

His anger was aroused, however, against Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia, because this prince, after having once grovelled before him in order to gain his assistance as advocate when accused by his subjects in the time of Augustus, had afterwards slighted him on the occasion of his visit to Rhodes, yet had paid court to Gaius when the latter went to Asia. Therefore Tiberius now summoned him on the charge of rebellious conduct and left his fate to the decision of the senate, although the man was not only stricken in years, but also a great sufferer from gout, and was furthermore believed to be demented. As a matter of fact, he had once lost his mind to such an extent that a guardian was appointed over his domain by Augustus; nevertheless, at the time in question he was no longer weak-witted, but was merely feigning, in the hope of saving himself by this expedient. And he would now have been put to death, had not someone in testifying against him stated that he had once said: "When I get back home, I will show him what sort of sinews I possess." So great a shout of laughter went up at this—for the man was not only unable to stand, but could not even sit up—that Tiberius gave up his purpose of putting him to death. In fact, the prince's condition was so serious that he was carried into the senate in a covered litter (for it was customary even for men, whenever one of them came there feeling ill, to be carried in reclining, and even Tiberius sometimes did so), and he spoke a few words leaning out of the litter. So it was that

ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ἐσώθη, ἄλλως δ' οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἀπέθανε, κἀκ τούτου καὶ ἡ Καππαδοκία τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων ἐγένετο καὶ ἱππεῖ ἐπετράπη.

Ταῖς τε ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεσι ταῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ σεισμοῦ κακωθείσαις ἀνὴρ ἐστρατηγηκὼς σὺν πέντε ῥαβδούχοις προσετάχθη, καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν φόρων ἀνείθη πολλὰ δὲ καὶ
8 παρὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐδόθη· τῶν γὰρ ἀλλοτρίων ἰσχυρῶς, μέχρι γε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν ἐπετήδευσεν, ἀπεχόμενος,[1] μηδὲ[2] τὰς κληρονομίας ἅς τινες αὐτῷ συγγενεῖς ἔχοντες κατέλιπον προσιέμενος, πάμπολλα ἔς τε τὰς πόλεις καὶ τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἀνήλισκε, καὶ οὔτε τιμὴν οὔτε ἔπαινον
9 οὐδένα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς προσεδέχετο. ταῖς τε πρεσβείαις ταῖς παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ἢ καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν οὐδέποτε μόνος ἐχρημάτιζεν, ἀλλὰ πολλούς, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἄρξαντάς ποτε αὐτῶν, κοινωνοὺς τῆς διαγνώμης ἐποιεῖτο.

18 Γερμανικὸς δὲ τῇ ἐπὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς στρατείᾳ φερόμενος εὖ μέχρι τε τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ προεχώρησε, καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους κατὰ τὸ καρτερὸν νικήσας τά τε ὀστᾶ τῶν σὺν τῷ Οὐάρῳ πεσόντων συνέλεξέ τε καὶ ἔθαψε, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἀνεκτήσατο.—Xiph. 134, 20–32.

1[a] Τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα Ἰουλίαν οὔτε ἐπανήγαγεν ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίας ἣν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς τοῦ Αὐγούστου κατεδικάσθη δι' ἀσέλγειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατέκλεισεν αὐτήν, ὥσθ' ὑπὸ κακουχίας καὶ λιμοῦ φθαρῆναι.—Zon. 11, 2 (p. 5, 14–17 D.).

[1] After ἀπε at least two quaternions have been lost out of M; it resumes at 58, 7, 2. The missing portions are supplied

the life of Archelaus was spared for the time being; but he died shortly afterward from some other cause. After this Cappadocia fell to the Romans and was put in charge of a knight as governor. A.D. 17

The cities in Asia which had been damaged by the earthquake were assigned to an ex-praetor with five lictors; and large sums of money were remitted from their taxes and large sums were also given them by Tiberius. For not only did he refrain scrupulously from the possessions of others—so long, that is, as he practised any virtue at all—and would not even accept the inheritances that were left to him by testators who had relatives, but he actually contributed vast sums both to cities and to private individuals, and would not accept any honour or praise for these acts. When embassies came from cities or provinces, he never dealt with them alone, but caused a number of others to participate in the deliberations, especially men who had once governed these peoples.

Germanicus, having acquired a reputation by his campaign against the Germans, advanced as far as the ocean, inflicted an overwhelming defeat upon the barbarians, collected and buried the bones of those who had fallen with Varus, and won back the military standards.

Tiberius did not recall his wife Julia from th banishment to which her father Augustus had condemned her for unchastity, but even put her under lock and key until she perished from general debility and starvation.

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in part by Xiph. and Zon., the text here given being in some cases a combination of their respective accounts.

[2] μηδὲ Bk., μήτε VCL'.

2 Τῷ δὲ[1] Τιβερίῳ τῆς βουλῆς ἐγκειμένης, καὶ τὸν γοῦν μῆνα τὸν Νοέμβριον, ἐν ᾧ τῇ ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα ἐγεγέννητο,[2] Τιβέριον καλεῖσθαι ἀξιούσης, "καὶ τί" ἔφη "ποιήσετε, ἂν δεκατρεῖς Καίσαρες γένωνται;"—Xiph. 134, 32–135, 4, Zon. 11, 2 (p. 5, 18–21 D.), Petr. Patr. *Exc. Vat.* 5 (p. 198 sq. Mai = p. 182, 17–20 D.).

3 Μάρκου δὲ δὴ Ἰουνίου Λουκίου τε Νωρβανοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀρξάντων τέρας ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νουμηνίᾳ οὐ σμικρὸν ἐγένετο, ὅπερ που ἐς τὸ Γερμανικοῦ πάθος ἀπεσήμαινεν· ὁ γὰρ Νωρβανὸς ὁ ὕπατος σάλπιγγι ἀεὶ προσκείμενος, καὶ ἐρρωμένως τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀσκῶν, ἠθέλησε καὶ τότε ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον, πολλῶν ἤδη πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ
4 παρόντων, σαλπίσαι. καὶ τοῦτό τε πάντας ὁμοίως ἐξετάραξε καθάπερ ἐμπολέμιόν τι σύνθημα τοῦ ὑπάτου σφίσι παραγγείλαντος,[3] καὶ ὅτι καὶ[4] τὸ τοῦ Ἰανοῦ[5] ἄγαλμα κατέπεσε. λόγιόν τέ τι ὡς καὶ Σιβύλλειον, ἄλλως μὲν οὐδὲν τῷ τῆς πόλεως χρόνῳ προσῆκον, πρὸς δὲ τὰ παρόντα
5 ᾀδόμενον, οὐχ ἡσυχῇ σφας ἐκίνει· ἔλεγε γὰρ ὅτι·

τρὶς δὲ τριηκοσίων περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν
Ῥωμαίους ἔμφυλος ὀλεῖ[6] στάσις, χά[7] Συβαρῖτις
ἀφροσύνα.

ὁ οὖν Τιβέριος ταῦτά τε τὰ ἔπη ὡς καὶ ψευδῆ ὄντα διέβαλε, καὶ τὰ βιβλία πάντα τὰ μαντείαν

[1] τῷ δὲ VC, τῷ δέ γε L'.
[2] ἐγεγέννητο L', ἐγεγένητο VC.
[3] σφίσι παραγγείλαντος VC, παραγγείλαντός σφισι L'.
[4] καὶ om. L'.

The senate urged upon Tiberius the request that the month of November, on the sixteenth day of which he had been born, should be called Tiberius; but he replied: "What will you do, then, if there are thirteen Caesars?" A.D. 18

Later, when Marcus Junius and Lucius Norbanus assumed office, an omen of no little importance occurred on the very first day of the year, and it doubtless had a bearing on the fate of Germanicus. The consul Norbanus, it seems, had always been devoted to the trumpet, and as he practised on it assiduously, he wished to play the instrument on this occasion, also, at dawn, when many persons were already near his house. This proceeding startled them all alike, just as if the consul had given them a signal for battle; and they were also alarmed by the falling of the statue of Janus. They were furthermore disturbed not a little by an oracle, reputed to be an utterance of the Sibyl, which, although it did not fit this period of the city's history at all, was nevertheless applied to the situation then existing. It ran: A.D. 19

"When thrice three hundred revolving years have run their course,
Civil strife upon Rome destruction shall bring, and the folly, too,
Of Sybaris . . ."

Tiberius, now, denounced these verses as spurious and made an investigation of all the books that con-

[5] Ἰανοῦ R. Steph., ἰαννοῦ VCL′.
[6] ὀλεῖ Xyl., ἐλεῖ VCL′.
[7] χὰ Bs., καὶ ἁ VCL′.

τινὰ ἔχοντα ἐπεσκέψατο, καὶ τὰ μὲν ὡς οὐδενὸς ἄξια ἀπέκρινε τὰ δὲ ἐνέκρινε.—Xiph. 135, 4–23.

5a Τῶν τε Ἰουδαίων πολλῶν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην συνελθόντων καὶ συχνοὺς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἔθη μεθιστάντων, τοὺς πλείονας ἐξήλασεν. —Joann. Antioch. fr. 79 § 4b M. v. 20–22.

6 Τοῦ δὲ δὴ Γερμανικοῦ τελευτήσαντος ὁ μὲν Τιβέριος καὶ ἡ Λιουία πάνυ ἥσθησαν, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι πάντες δεινῶς ἐλυπήθησαν. κάλλιστος μὲν γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἄριστος δὲ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἔφυ, παιδείᾳ τε ἅμα καὶ ῥώμῃ διέπρεπε, καὶ ἔς τε τὸ πολέμιον ἀνδρειότατος ὢν ἡμερώτατα τῷ οἰκείῳ
7 προσεφέρετο, καὶ πλεῖστον ἰσχύων ἅτε Καῖσαρ ὢν ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις ἐσωφρόνει, καὶ οὐδὲν οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἐπαχθὲς οὔτε πρὸς τὸν Δροῦσον ἐπίφθονον οὔτε πρὸς τὸν
8 Τιβέριον ἐπαίτιον ἔπραττεν,[1] ἀλλὰ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν ἐν ὀλίγοις τῶν πώποτε οὔτ᾽ ἐξήμαρτέ τι ἐς τὴν ὑπάρξασαν αὐτῷ τύχην οὔτ᾽ αὐτὸς ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνης διεφθάρη· δυνηθεὶς γοῦν[2] πολλάκις καὶ παρ᾽ ἑκόντων, οὐχ ὅτι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῆς τε βουλῆς, τὴν αὐτοκράτορα λαβεῖν
9 ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν. ἀπέθανε δὲ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, ὑπό τε τοῦ Πίσωνος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Πλαγκίνης ἐπιβουλευθείς· ὀστᾶ τε[3] γὰρ ἀνθρώπων[4] ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐν ᾗ ᾤκει[5] κατορωρυγμένα καὶ ἐλασμοὶ μολίβδινοι ἀράς τινας μετὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ ἔχοντες ζῶντος ἔθ᾽ εὑρέθη. ὅτι δὲ καὶ φαρμάκῳ ἐφθάρη, τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐξέφηνεν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν

[1] ἔπραττεν cod. Peir., ἔπραξε Xiph.
[2] γοῦν Xiph., οὖν cod. Peir.

tained any prophecies, rejecting some as worthless and retaining others as genuine. A.D. 19

As the Jews had flocked to Rome in great numbers and were converting many of the natives to their ways, he banished most of them.

At the death of Germanicus Tiberius and Livia were thoroughly pleased, but everybody else was deeply grieved. He was a man of the most striking physical beauty and likewise of the noblest spirit, and was conspicuous alike for his culture and for his strength. Though the bravest of men against the foe, he showed himself most gentle with his countrymen; and though as a Caesar he had the greatest power, he kept his ambitions on the same plane as weaker men. He never conducted himself oppressively toward his subjects or with jealousy toward Drusus or in any reprehensible way toward Tiberius. In a word, he was one of the few men of all time who have neither sinned against the fortune allotted to them nor been destroyed by it. Although on several occasions he might have obtained the imperial power, with the free consent not only of the soldiers but of the people and senate as well, he refused to do so. His death occurred at Antioch as the result of a plot formed by Piso and Plancina. For bones of men that had been buried in the house where he dwelt and sheets of lead containing curses together with his name were found while he was yet alive; and that poison was the means of his carrying off was revealed by the condition of his body, which was brought into the Forum and ex-

[3] τε Zon., om. Xiph.
[4] ἀνθρώπων Xiph., ἀνθρώπεια Zon.
[5] ᾤκει Xiph., κατῴκει Zon.

10 *κομισθὲν καὶ τοῖς παροῦσι δειχθέν. ὁ δὲ Πίσων*[1] *χρόνῳ ὕστερον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνακομισθεὶς καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐσαχθείς, διακρουομένου τὴν ὑποψίαν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ φθορᾷ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ, ἀναβολήν τέ τινα ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἑαυτὸν κατεχρήσατο.*—Xiph. 135, 23–136, 6, Exc. Val. 188 (p. 665 sq.), Zon. 11, 2 (p. 5, 22–6, 12 D.).

11 *Ἐπὶ τρισὶ δ' υἱέσιν*[2] *ὁ Γερμανικὸς ἐτελεύτησεν, οὓς ὁ Αὔγουστος ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις αὐτοῦ Καίσαρας ὠνόμασε. τούτων ὁ πρεσβύτατος*[3] *Νέρων κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον τοῖς ἐφήβοις κατηριθμήθη.*—Zon. 11, 2 (p. 6, 12–15 D.).

19 *Μέχρι μὲν οὖν τοῦ χρόνου τούτου πλεῖστα χρηστὰ ὁ Τιβέριος ἔπραξε καὶ βραχέα ἐξήμαρτεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ἐφεδρεῦον οὐκέτ' εἶχεν, ἐς πᾶν τοὐναντίον τῶν πρόσθεν εἰργασμένων αὐτῷ, πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ καλῶν, περιέστη. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἀγρίως ἦρξε, καὶ ταῖς τῆς ἀσεβείας δίκαις, εἴ τις οὐχ ὅσον ἐς τὸν Αὔγουστον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τήν τε μητέρα αὐτοῦ πράξας τι ἢ καὶ εἰπὼν ἀνεπιτήδειον ἐπεκλήθη, δεινῶς ἐπεξῄει.*—Xiph. 136, 6–13, Zon. 11, 2 (p. 6, 16–22 D.).

1[a] *Καὶ ἐς τοὺς ὑπονοηθέντας ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ ἀπαραίτητος ἦν.*—Zon. 11, 2 (p. 6, 22–23 D.).

1[b] *Ὅτι Τιβέριος τοὺς κατηγορουμένους ἐπί τινι πικρῶς ἐκόλαζεν οὕτως ἐπιλέγων "οὐδεὶς ἑκὼν ἄρχεται ἀλλ' ἄκων εἰς τοῦτο συνελαύνεται· μὴ μόνον γὰρ μὴ*[4] *πειθαρχεῖν τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἡδέως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιβουλεύειν τοῖς ἄρχουσι·" καὶ προσεδέχετο τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας μὴ διακρίνων εἴτε*

[1] Πίσων L', νηίσων VC, πείσων Zon.

hibited to all who were present. Piso later returned to Rome and was brought before the senate on the charge of murder by Tiberius himself, who thus endeavoured to clear himself of the suspicion of having destroyed Germanicus; but Piso secured a postponement of his trial and committed suicide. A.D. 20

Germanicus at his death left three sons, whom Augustus in his will had named Caesars. The eldest of these, Nero, assumed the *toga virilis* about this time.

Up to this time, as we have seen, Tiberius had done a great many excellent things and had made but few errors; but now, when he no longer had a rival biding his chance, he changed to precisely the reverse of his previous conduct, which had included much that was good. Among other ways in which his rule became cruel, he pushed to the bitter end the trials for *maiestas,* in cases where complaint was made against anyone for committing any improper act, or uttering any improper speech, not only against Augustus but also against Tiberius himself and against his mother.

And towards those who were suspected of plotting against him he was inexorable.

Tiberius was stern in his chastisement of persons accused of any offence. He used to remark: "Nobody willingly submits to being ruled, but a man is driven to it against his will; for not only do subjects delight in refusing obedience, but they also enjoy plotting against their rulers." And he would accept accusers indiscriminately, whether it

² υἱέσιν BCE^c, υἱοῖς AE.
³ πρεσβύτατος BCE^c, πρεσβύτερος A.
⁴ μὴ Dind., τοὺς μὴ cod.

δοῦλος κατὰ δεσπότου εἴτε κατὰ πατρὸς[1] υἱὸς λέγει.—Petr. Patr. *Exc. Vat.* 6 p. 199 Mai (p. 182, 21–27 D.).

1[c] Ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐνδεικνύμενός τισιν ὅτι βούλεται τεθνάναι τινάς, δι' ἐκείνων σφᾶς ἀπεκτίννυε, καὶ οὐκ ἐλάνθανε ταῦτα ποιῶν.—Zon. 11, 2 (p. 6, 23–25 D.).

2 Ἐβασανίζοντο δὲ οὐχὶ οἰκέται μόνον κατὰ τῶν ἰδίων δεσποτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ πολῖται. οἵ τε κατηγορήσαντες ἢ καὶ καταμαρτυρήσαντές τινων τὰς οὐσίας τῶν ἁλισκομένων διελάγχανον, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τιμὰς προσελάμβανον.
3 πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν ὥραν ἐν ᾗ ἐγεγέννηντο ἐξετάζων, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν καὶ τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὴν τύχην αὐτῶν διασκοπῶν, ἀπεκτίννυεν· εἰ γάρ τῳ ὑπέρογκόν τι καὶ εὔελπι πρὸς δυναστείαν ἐνεῖδε,
4 πάντως ἀπώλλυεν. οὕτω δ' οὖν τὸ πεπρωμένον ἑκάστῳ τῶν πρώτων καὶ ἐξήταζε καὶ ἠπίστατο ὥστε καὶ τῷ Γάλβᾳ τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐταρχήσαντι ἀπαντήσας, γυναῖκα ἐγγεγυημένῳ, εἰπεῖν ὅτι "καὶ σύ ποτε τῆς ἡγεμονίας γεύσῃ." ἐφείσατο γὰρ[2] αὐτοῦ, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ, ὅτι καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτῷ εἱμαρμένον ἦν, ὡς δ' αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν, ὅτι καὶ ἐν γήρᾳ καὶ μετὰ πολὺ τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ ἄρξοι. —Xiph. 136, 13–29, Zon. 11, 2 (p. 6, 25–31 D.).

18, Ὅτι καὶ ἀφορμάς τινας φόνων ὁ Τιβέριος ἔσχε·
10[b] διὰ γὰρ τὸν τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ θάνατον πολλοὶ ὡς καὶ ἐφησθέντες αὐτῷ ἀπώλοντο.

19, Συνήρατο[3] δὲ καὶ συγκατειργάσατο αὐτῷ πάν-
5 τα προθυμότατα Λούκιος Αἴλιος[4] Σεϊανός,[5] υἱὸς

[1] κατὰ πατρὸς supplied by Mai. [2] γὰρ Xiph., δὲ Zon.
[3] συνήρατο R. Steph., συνείρατο VCL', συνήρετο cod Peir.

was a slave denouncing his master or a son his father. A.D. 20

Indeed, by indicating to certain persons his desire for the death of certain others, he brought about the destruction of the latter at the hands of the former, and his part in these deaths was no secret.

Not only were slaves tortured to make them testify against their own masters, but freemen and citizens as well. Those who had accused or testified against persons divided by lot the property of the convicted and received in addition both offices and honours. In the case of many, he took care to ascertain the day and hour of their birth, and on the basis of their character and fortune as thus disclosed would put them to death; for if he discovered any unusual ability or promise of power in anyone, he was sure to slay him. In fact, so thoroughly did he investigate and understand the destiny in store for every one of the more prominent men, that on meeting Galba (the later emperor), when the latter had had a wife betrothed to him, he remarked: "You also shall one day taste of the sovereignty." He spared him, as I conjecture, because this was settled as his fate, but, as he explained it himself, because Galba would reign only in old age and long after his own death.

Tiberius also found some pretexts for murders; for the death of Germanicus led to the destruction of many others, on the ground that they were pleased at it.

He was most enthusiastically aided and abetted in all his undertakings by Lucius Aelius Sejanus,

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[4] Αἴλιος R. Steph., *αἱμόλιος* V, *αἱμφλιος* C, *αἱμίλιος* L' cod. Peir. [5] Σεϊανός Bs., *σιανός* Xiph., *σιλανός* cod. Peir.

μὲν τοῦ Στράβωνος ὤν,[1] *παιδικὰ δέ ποτε*[1] Μάρκου Γαβίου[1] Ἀπικίου *γενόμενος,* Ἀπικίου *ἐκείνου ὃς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀσωτίᾳ ὑπερεβάλετο οὕτως ὥστε, ἐπειδὴ μαθεῖν ποτε ἐθελήσας ὅσα τε ἤδη καταναλώκει καὶ ὅσα ἔτ' εἶχεν, ἔγνω ὅτι διακόσιαι καὶ πεντήκοντα αὐτῷ μυριάδες περιεῖεν,*[2] *ἐλυπήθη τε ὡς καὶ λιμῷ τελευτήσειν μέλλων καὶ ἑαυτὸν* 6 *διέφθειρεν. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Σεϊανὸς χρόνῳ μέν τινι μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν δορυφόρων ἦρξεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκείνου ἐς τὴν* Αἴγυπτον *πεμφθέντος μόνος τὴν προστασίαν αὐτῶν ἔσχε, τά τε ἄλλα συνέστησεν αὐτήν, καὶ τοὺς λόχους ἰδίᾳ καὶ χωρὶς ἀλλήλων, ὥσπερ τοὺς τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων, ὄντας ἐς ἓν τεῖχος συνήγαγεν, ὥστε τὰ παραγγέλματα καὶ ἀθρόους καὶ διὰ ταχέων λαμβάνειν, καὶ φοβεροὺς πᾶσιν* 7 *ἅτε καὶ ἐν ἑνὶ τείχει ὄντας εἶναι. τοῦτον οὖν ὁ* Τιβέριος *ἐκ τῆς τῶν τρόπων ὁμοιότητος προσλαβὼν ταῖς τε στρατηγικαῖς τιμαῖς ἐκόσμησεν, ὃ μήπω πρότερον μηδενὶ τῶν ὁμοίων οἱ*[3] *ἐγεγόνει, καὶ σύμβουλον καὶ ὑπηρέτην πρὸς πάντα ἐποιεῖτο.*

8 Τὸ *μὲν οὖν σύμπαν οὕτω μετὰ τὸν τοῦ* Γερμανικοῦ *θάνατον μετεβάλετο ὥστε αὐτὸν μεγάλως καὶ πρότερον ἐπαινούμενον πολλῷ δὴ τότε μᾶλλον θαυμασθῆναι.*—Xiph. 136, 29–137, 17, Exc. Val. 189 (p. 666).

20 Ἐπεὶ *δὲ ὁ* Τιβέριος *τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν ἦρξε μετὰ τοῦ Δρούσου, εὐθὺς οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸν ὄλεθρον τῷ Δρούσῳ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τούτου προεμαντεύσαντο·*

[1] *ὤν* and *δέ ποτε* and *Γαβίου* om. cod. Peir.
[2] *περιεῖεν* Xiph. VC, cod. Peir., *ἔτι περιεῖεν* L'.
[3] *οἱ* cod. Peir., *αὐτῷ* Xiph.

the son of Strabo, and formerly a favourite of Marcus Gabius Apicius—that Apicius who so far surpassed all mankind in prodigality that, when he wished one day to know how much he had already spent and how much he still had left, and learned that ten millions [1] still remained to him, became grief-stricken, feeling that he was destined to die of hunger, and took his own life. This Sejanus, now, had shared for a time his father's command of the Pretorians; but when his father had been sent to Egypt and he had obtained sole command over them, he strengthened his authority in many ways, especially by bringing together into a single camp the various cohorts which had been separate and distinct from one another like those of the night-watch. In this way the entire force could receive its orders promptly, and would inspire everybody with fear because all were together in one camp. This was the man whom Tiberius, because of the similarity of their characters, attached to himself, elevating him to the rank of praetor, an honour that had never yet been accorded to one of like station; [2] and he made him his adviser and assistant in all matters. A.D. 20

In fine, Tiberius changed so much after the death of Germanicus that, whereas previously he had been highly praised, he now caused even greater amazement.

When Tiberius held the consulship with Drusus, men immediately began to prophesy destruction for Drusus from this very circumstance. For not one A.D. 21

[1] *i.e.* sesterces; literally 2,500,000 denarii.

[2] *i.e.* to one who did not belong to the senatorial class. See Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*[3], p. 463, n. 3.

οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ὅστις τῶν ὑπατευσάντων ποτὲ μετ'
2 αὐτοῦ οὐ βιαίως ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὁ
Οὔαρος[1] ὁ Κυιντίλιος, τοῦτο δὲ ὁ Πίσων[2] ὁ
Γναῖος ὅ τε Γερμανικὸς αὐτὸς βιαίως καὶ κακῶς[3]
ἀπώλοντο. τοιούτῳ τινί, ὡς ἔοικε, διὰ βίου δαί-
μονι συνεκεκλήρωτο.[4] ἀμέλει καὶ ὁ Δροῦσος
τότε καὶ ὁ Σεϊανὸς μετὰ ταῦτα συνάρξαντές οἱ
ἐφθάρησαν.[5]

3 Ἐκδημοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Τιβερίου Γάιος Λουτώριος
Πρίσκος ἱππεύς, ἄλλως τε μέγα ἐπὶ ποιήσει
φρονῶν καὶ ἐπιτάφιον ἐπὶ τῷ Γερμανικῷ ἐπιφανῆ
συγγράψας, ὥστε καὶ χρήματα δι' αὐτὸν πολλὰ
λαβεῖν, αἰτίαν ἔσχεν ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ
ποίημα παρὰ τὴν νόσον αὐτοῦ συντεθεικώς, καὶ
ἐκρίθη τε διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ κατεδικάσθη
4 καὶ ἀπέθανεν. ὁ οὖν Τιβέριος ἀγανακτήσας, οὐχ
ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ἐκολάσθη ἀλλ' ὅτι τις ὑπὸ τῶν βου-
λευτῶν ἄνευ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης ἐθανατώθη, ἐπε-
τίμησέ τε αὐτοῖς, καὶ δόγματι παραδοθῆναι ἐκέ-
λευσε μήτ' ἀποθνήσκειν ἐντὸς δέκα ἡμερῶν τὸν
καταψηφισθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν, μήτε τὸ γράμμα τὸ
ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενόμενον ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἐντὸς τοῦ
αὐτοῦ χρόνου ἀποτίθεσθαι, ὅπως καὶ ἀποδημῶν
προπυνθάνηται τὰ δόξαντά σφισι καὶ ἐπιδιακρίνῃ.

21 Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐξελθούσης αὐτῷ τῆς ὑπατείας
ἔς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ἦλθε, καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους συνα-
γορεύειν τισὶν ἐκώλυσεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι "εἰ ὑπάτευον,
2 οὐκ ἂν ἐποίησα τοῦτο." ἐπειδή τε τῶν στρατη-

[1] ὁ Οὔαρος VC, οὔαρος L'. [2] ὁ Πίσων VC, πείσων L'.
[3] βιαίως καὶ κακῶς L', κακῶς VC.
[4] συνεκεκλήρωτο cod. Peir., συγκεκλήρωτο VCL'.
[5] ἐφθάρησαν VC, διεφθάρησαν L'.

of the men who had ever been consul with Tiberius failed to meet a violent death; but in the first place there was Quintilius Varus, and next Gnaeus Piso, and then Germanicus himself, all of whom died violent and miserable deaths. Tiberius was evidently doomed to exert some such fatal influence throughout his life; at all events, not only Drusus, his colleague at this time, but also Sejanus, who later shared the office with him, came to destruction. A.D. 21

While Tiberius was out of town, Gaius Lutorius[1] Priscus, a knight, who took great pride in his poetic talents and had written a notable ode on the occasion of Germanicus' death, for which he had received a considerable sum of money, was charged with having composed a poem about Drusus, also, during the latter's illness. For this he was tried in the senate, condemned, and put to death. Tiberius was vexed at this, not because the man had been executed, but because the senators had inflicted the death penalty upon a person without his approval. He therefore rebuked them, and ordered a decree to be issued to the effect that no person condemned by them should be executed within ten days and that the decree in such a person's case should not be made public within that time. The purpose of this was to ensure his learning their decisions in season, even while absent, and of reviewing them.

After this, when his consulship had expired, he came to Rome and prevented the consuls from acting A.D. 22
as advocates for some persons in court, remarking: "If I were consul, I should not have done so." One

[1] The form Clutorius (Tac., *Ann.* iii. 49–51) is probably to be preferred to C. Lutorius.

γούντων τις αἰτίαν, ὡς καὶ ἀσεβές[1] *τι*[2] *ἐς αὐτὸν εἰρηκὼς ἢ καὶ πεποιηκώς, λαβὼν ἐξῆλθέ τε ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, καὶ τὴν ἀρχικὴν στολὴν ἐκδὺς ἐπανῆλθέ τε καὶ κατηγορηθῆναι παραχρῆμα ὡς καὶ ἰδιωτεύων ἠξίωσε, δεινῶς τε ἤλγησε καὶ οὐκέτ'*
3 *αὐτοῦ ἥψατο. τοὺς δὲ ὀρχηστὰς τῆς τε Ῥώμης ἐξήλασε καὶ μηδαμόθι τῇ τέχνῃ χρῆσθαι προσέταξεν, ὅτι τάς τε γυναῖκας ᾔσχυνον καὶ στάσεις ἤγειρον. ἄλλους μὲν δὴ οὖν καὶ πολλούς γε τῶν τελευτώντων καὶ ἀνδριᾶσι καὶ δημοσίαις ταφαῖς ἐτίμα, τὸν δὲ δὴ Σεϊανὸν ζῶντα ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ χαλκοῦν ἔστησε. κἀκ τούτου πολλαὶ μὲν ὑπὸ πολλῶν εἰκόνες αὐτοῦ ἐποιήθησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἔπαινοι καὶ παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ παρὰ τῇ βουλῇ*
4 *ἐγίγνοντο, ἔς τε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ οἵ τε ἄλλοι οἱ ἐλλόγιμοι καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον συνεχῶς ἐφοίτων, καὶ τά τε ἴδια αὐτῷ πάντα, ὅσα τινὲς ἀξιώσειν παρὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἔμελλον, καὶ τὰ κοινά, ὑπὲρ ὧν χρηματισθῆναι ἔδει, ἐπεκοίνουν. καὶ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἔτι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπράττετο.*

5 *Κατὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον καὶ στοὰ μεγίστη ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ἐπειδὴ ἑτεροκλινὴς ἐγένετο, θαυμαστὸν δή τινα τρόπον ὠρθώθη. ἀρχιτέκτων γάρ*[3] *τις, οὗ τὸ ὄνομα οὐδεὶς οἶδε (τῇ γὰρ θαυματοποιίᾳ αὐτοῦ φθονήσας ὁ Τιβέριος οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτὸ ἐς τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐσγραφῆναι), οὗτος οὖν ὅστις ποτὲ ὠνομάζετο, τούς τε θεμελίους*
6 *αὐτῆς πέριξ κρατύνας ὥστε μὴ συγκινηθῆναι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πᾶν πόκοις τε καὶ ἱματίοις παχέσι*

[1] ἀσεβές VL', ἀσελγές C. [2] τι om. L'.
[3] γὰρ L', om. VC.

of the praetors was accused of having made some impious remark or of having committed some offence against him, whereupon the man left the senate and having taken off his robe of office returned, demanding as a private citizen to have the complaint lodged at once; at this the emperor was greatly grieved and molested him no further. He banished the actors from Rome and would allow them no place in which to practise their profession, because they kept debauching the women and stirring up tumults. He honoured many men after their death with statues and public funerals, but for Sejanus he erected a bronze statue in the theatre during his lifetime. As a result, numerous images of Sejanus were made by many different persons, and many eulogies were delivered in his honour, both before the people and before the senate. The leading citizens, including the consuls themselves, regularly resorted to his house at dawn, and communicated to him not only all the private requests that any of them wished to make of Tiberius, but also the public business which required to be taken up. In a word, no business of this sort was transacted henceforth without his knowledge.

A.D. 22

A.D. 23

About this time one of the largest porticos in Rome began to lean to one side, and was set upright in a remarkable way by an architect whose name no one knows, because Tiberius, jealous of his wonderful achievement, would not permit it to be entered in the records. This architect, then, whatever his name may have been, first strengthened the foundations round about, so that they should not collapse, and wrapped all the rest of the structure in fleeces and thick garments, binding it firmly

περιλαβών, σχοίνοις τε πανταχόθεν αὐτὴν διέδησε, καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἕδραν ἀνθρώποις τε πολλοῖς καὶ μηχανήμασιν ὀνευσάμενος[1] ἐπανήγαγε. τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ Τιβέριος καὶ ἐθαύμασεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐζηλοτύπησε, καὶ διὰ μὲν ἐκεῖνο χρήμασιν ἐτίμησε, διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξήλασε·

7 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προσελθόντος οἱ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἱκετείαν ποιουμένου, κἀν τούτῳ ποτήριόν τι ὑαλοῦν καταβαλόντος τε ἐξεπίτηδες καὶ θλασθέν πως ἢ συντριβὲν ταῖς τε χερσὶ διατρίψαντος καὶ ἄθραυστον παραχρῆμα ἀποφήναντος, ὡς καὶ συγγνώμης διὰ τοῦτο τευξομένου, καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν.

22 Δροῦσος δὲ ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ φαρμάκῳ διώλετο. ὁ γὰρ Σεϊανὸς ἐπί τε τῇ ἰσχύι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀξιώματι ὑπερμαζήσας τά τε ἄλλα ὑπέρογκος ἦν, καὶ τέλος καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Δροῦσον ἐτράπετο καί ποτε πὺξ

2 αὐτῷ ἐνέτεινε. φοβηθείς τε ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὸν Τιβέριον, καὶ ἅμα καὶ[2] προσδοκήσας, ἂν τὸν νεανίσκον ἐκποδὼν ποιήσηται, καὶ τὸν γέροντα ῥᾷστα μεταχειριεῖσθαι, φάρμακόν τι αὐτῷ διά τε τῶν ἐν τῇ θεραπείᾳ αὐτοῦ ὄντων καὶ διὰ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, ἥν τινες Λιουίλλαν ὀνομάζουσιν,[3] ἔδωκε· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐμοίχευεν αὐτήν.

[1] *ὀνευσάμενος* v. Herw., *ὠμευσάμενος* VC, *ὠσάμενος* L′.

[2] *ἅμα καὶ* om. L′.

[3] *ἥν τινες Λιουίλλαν ὀνομάζουσιν* Xyl., *ἥν τινες λουίλαν ὀνομάζουσιν* VCL′, *ἣν Ἰουλίαν ἕτεροι δὲ Λιβίαν γράφουσι* Zon. Bs. suggests that Dio wrote *ἥν τινες μὲν Λιουίλλαν ἕτεροι δὲ Λιουίαν ὀνουάζουσιν* (in § 4[b] inf. Zon. has *Λιβία*, in lviii. 11 and 24 M has *Λιουίλλα*).

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[1] This second anecdote is related much more intelligently by Pliny (*N. H.* xxxvi. 26, 66) and by Petronius (51). The

together on all sides by means of ropes; then with the aid of many men and windlasses he raised it back to its original position. At the time Tiberius both admired and envied him; for the former reason he honoured him with a present of money, and for the latter he expelled him from the city. Later the exile approached him to crave pardon, and while doing so purposely let fall a crystal goblet; and though it was bruised in some way or shattered, yet by passing his hands over it he promptly exhibited it whole once more. For this he hoped to obtain pardon, but instead the emperor put him to death.[1] A.D. 23

Drusus, the son of Tiberius, perished by poison. It appears that Sejanus, puffed up by his power and rank, in addition to his other overweening behaviour, finally turned against Drusus and once struck him a blow with his fist. As this gave him reason to fear both Drusus and Tiberius, and as he felt sure at the same time that if he could once get the young man out of the way, he could handle the other very easily, he administered poison to the son through the agency of those in attendance upon him and of Drusus' wife, whom some call Livilla[2]; for Sejanus was her paramour. The guilt was imputed to

man, it appears, had discovered a method of producing flexible glass, and the goblet in falling received such injuries as a metal cup would have received; in restoring its shape a little hammer was used, according to Petronius. When the emperor learned, upon inquiry, that no one else was in the secret, he caused the man to be beheaded, lest if the process became known, gold should become as dirt.

[2] Her name is given both as Livilla and Livia. Dio's text here may have read: "whom some call Livilla and others Livia."

3 *αἰτίαν μὲν γὰρ ὁ Τιβέριος ἔλαβεν, ὅτι μήτε
νοσοῦντος τοῦ Δρούσου μήτ' ἀποθανόντος ἔξω τι
τῶν συνήθων ἔπραξε, μηδὲ*[1] *τοῖς ἄλλοις ποιῆσαι
ἐπέτρεψεν· οὐ μέντοι καὶ πιστὸς ὁ λόγος. τοῦτό
τε γὰρ ἀπὸ γνώμης ἐπὶ πάντων ὁμοίως ἔπραττε,
καὶ τῷ υἱεῖ ἅτε καὶ μόνῳ καὶ γνησίῳ ὄντι προσ-*
4 *έκειτο, τούς τε χειρουργήσαντας τὸν ὄλεθρον
αὐτοῦ, τοὺς μὲν εὐθὺς τοὺς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐκό-
λασε. τότε δ' οὖν ἐσῆλθέ τε ἐς τὸ συνέδριον,
καὶ τὸν προσήκοντα ἐπὶ τῷ παιδὶ ἔπαινον ποιησά-
μενος οἴκαδε ἐκομίσθη.*—Xiph. 137, 17–140, 7.
4a *Ὁ μὲν οὖν οὕτως διώλετο,*[2] *ὁ δέ γε Τιβέριος
εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἀφικόμενος ἐκεῖνόν τε ἀπωδύρατο
καὶ τὸν Νέρωνα τόν τε Δροῦσον τοὺς τοῦ Γερ-
μανικοῦ παῖδας τῇ γερουσίᾳ παρακατέθετο, καὶ
τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Δρούσου προυτέθη ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος,
καὶ ὁ Νέρων γαμβρὸς αὐτοῦ ὢν ἐπαίνους ἐπ'
αὐτῷ εἶπεν. ὁ δὲ δὴ θάνατος αὐτοῦ πολλοῖς
αἴτιος θανάτου ἐγένετο ὡς ἐφησθεῖσι τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ*
4b *αὐτοῦ. πολλοί τε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι διώλοντο καὶ
ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα μετὰ τῶν παίδων αὐτῆς, τοῦ νεωτά-
του χωρίς. πολλὰ γὰρ κατ' αὐτῆς ὁ Σεϊανὸς*[3]
*παρώξυνε τὸν Τιβέριον, προσδοκήσας ἐκείνης
μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἀπολομένης τῇ τε Λιβίᾳ συνοι-
κήσειν τῇ τοῦ Δρούσου γυναικί, ἧς ἤρα, καὶ τὸ
κράτος ἕξειν μηδενὸς τῷ Τιβερίῳ διαδόχου τυγ-
χάνοντος· τὸν γὰρ υἱιδοῦν ἐμίσει ὡς καὶ μοι-
χίδιον. καὶ ἄλλους δὲ πολλοὺς ἐπὶ ἄλλαις καὶ
ἄλλαις αἰτίαις, ταῖς δέ γε πλείοσι πεπλασμέναις,
καὶ ἐφυγάδευσε καὶ διέφθειρε.*—Zon. 11, 2 (p. 7,
11–28 D.).

[1] *μηδὲ* Bk., *μήτε* VCL'.

Tiberius, because he altered none of his accustomed habits either during the illness of Drusus or at his death, and would not allow others to alter theirs. But the story is not credible. For this was his regular practice, as a matter of principle, in every case alike, and besides he was greatly attached to Drusus, the only legitimate son he had; furthermore, he punished those who had compassed his death, some at once and some later. At the time he entered the senate, delivered the appropriate eulogy over his son, and returned home. A.D. 23

Thus perished Drusus. As for Tiberius, he went to the senate-house, where he lamented him publicly and at the same time entrusted Nero and Drusus, the sons of Germanicus, to the care of the senate. The body of Drusus lay in state upon the rostra, and Nero, his son-in-law, pronounced a eulogy over him. His death led to the death of many others, who were accused of being pleased at his destruction. Among the large number of people who thus lost their lives was Agrippina, together with her sons, except the youngest.[1] For Sejanus had incensed Tiberius greatly against her, in the expectation that when she and her sons had been disposed of he might marry Livia, the wife of Drusus, for whom he entertained a passion, and might gain the supreme power, since no successor would then be found for Tiberius; for the emperor detested his grandson as a bastard. Many others, also, he either banished or destroyed for various reasons, most of them fictitious.

[1] Gaius (Caligula). But Nero was not put to death until the year 29, Drusus until 33.

[2] διώλετο AE, ἀπώλετο BC.
[3] Σεϊανὸς A, σιανὸς BCE^c.

5 Ἀπεῖπε δὲ ὁ Τιβέριος τοῖς πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος
εἰρχθεῖσι μὴ διατίθεσθαι· καὶ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν
φυλάττεται. Αἴλιον δὲ Σατορνῖνον,[1] ὡς καὶ ἔπη
τινὰ ἐς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια ἀπορρίψαντα,[2] ὑπό
τε τὴν βουλὴν ὑπήγαγε καὶ ἁλόντα ἀπὸ τοῦ
23 Καπιτωλίου κατεκρήμνισε. πολλὰ δ' ἂν καὶ
ἄλλα τοιουτότροπα γράφειν ἔχοιμι, εἰ πάντα
ἐπεξίοιμι. τοῦτό τε οὖν ἐν κεφαλαίῳ εἰρήσθω,
ὅτι συχνοὶ διὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπώλοντο,
καὶ ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι ζητῶν καθ' ἓν[3] ἕκαστον ἀκριβῶς
ὅσα τινὲς ᾐτιάζοντο φλαύρως περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰρη-
κέναι, αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν πάντα τὰ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων κακὰ
2 ἔλεγε. καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ τις καὶ πρὸς ἕνα
διελέχθη τι, καὶ τοῦτο ἐδημοσίευεν ὥστε καὶ ἐς
τὰ κοινὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐσγράφεσθαι. καὶ πολλάκις
ἃ μηδ' εἶπέ τις, ὡς εἰρημένα, ἐξ ὧν ἑαυτῷ συνῄδει
προσκατεψεύδετο, ὅπως ὡς δικαιότατα ὀργίζεσθαι
3 νομισθείη. κἀκ τούτου συνέβαινεν αὐτῷ πάντα
τε ἐκεῖνα, ἐφ' οἷς τοὺς ἄλλους ὡς ἀσεβοῦντας
ἐκόλαζεν, αὐτὸν ἐς ἑαυτὸν πλημμελεῖν, καὶ προσέτι
καὶ χλευασμὸν ὀφλισκάνειν· ἃ γὰρ ἀπηρνοῦντό
τινες μὴ λελαληκέναι, ταῦτα αὐτὸς διισχυριζό-
μενος εἰρῆσθαι καὶ κατομνύων ἀληθέστερον ἑαυ-
τὸν ἠδίκει. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐξεστηκέναι τινὲς
4 αὐτὸν τῶν φρενῶν ὑπώπτευσαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ
ὄντως παραφρονεῖν ἐκ τούτου ἐπιστεύετο· τὰ γὰρ
ἄλλα καὶ πάνυ πάντα δεόντως διῴκει. τοῦτο μὲν
γὰρ βουλευτῇ τινι ἀσελγῶς ζῶντι ἐπίτροπον ὥσπερ
τινὶ ὀρφανῷ προσέταξε· τοῦτο δὲ τὸν Καπίτωνα

[1] Σατορνῖνον (Σατορνίνον) R. Steph., σατωρνίνον VCL′.
[2] ἀπορρίψαντα L′, ἀπορράψαντα VC.
[3] ἓν om. L′.

BOOK LVII

Tiberius forbade those who were debarred from fire and water to make any will, a custom that is still observed. He brought Aelius Saturninus before the senate for trial on the charge of having recited some improper verses about him, and upon his conviction caused him to be hurled down from the Capitol. And I might narrate many other such occurrences, were I to go into everything in detail. Suffice it, then, to state, briefly, that many were put to death by him for such offences, and furthermore that while investigating carefully, case by case, all the slighting remarks that any persons were accused of having uttered about him, he was really calling himself all the evil names that men had invented. For even if a man made some remark secretly to a single companion, he would publish this, too, by having it entered in the public records; and often he falsely added, from his own consciousness of his defects, what no one had ever said, as if it had really been uttered, in order that he might appear to have every justification for his anger. Consequently it came to pass that he heaped upon himself all the abuse for which he was wont to punish others on the charge of *maiestas*, and incurred ridicule besides. For, when persons denied having uttered certain remarks, he, by insisting and swearing that they had been uttered, was more truly wronging himself. On this very account some suspected that he was bereft of his senses. Yet he was not believed to be really insane because of this behaviour, since he handled all other matters in a thoroughly competent manner. For example, he appointed a guardian over a certain senator who lived licentiously, as he would have done in the case of an orphan. Again, he brought

A.D. 23

τὸν τὴν Ἀσίαν[1] ἐπιτροπεύσαντα ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσήγαγε, καὶ ἐγκαλέσας αὐτῷ ὅτι καὶ στρατιώταις ἐχρήσατο καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ὡς καὶ ἀρχὴν ἔχων ἔπραξεν, ἐφυγάδευσεν. οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν τότε τοῖς τὰ αὐτοκρατορικὰ χρήματα διοικοῦσι πλέον οὐδὲν ποιεῖν ἢ τὰς νενομισμένας προσόδους ἐκλέγειν καὶ περὶ τῶν διαφορῶν ἔν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς ἰδιώταις δικάζεσθαι.

Τοσοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸ διαλλάττον ἐν ταῖς Τι-
24 βερίου πράξεσιν ἦν, διελθόντων δὲ τῶν δέκα ἐτῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ψηφίσματος μὲν ἐς τὴν ἀνάληψιν αὐτῆς οὐδενὸς ἐδεήθη (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐδεῖτο κατατέμνων αὐτήν, ὥσπερ ὁ Αὔγουστος, ἄρχειν), ἡ μέντοι πανήγυρις ἡ δεκαετηρὶς[2] ἐποιήθη.
2 Κρεμούτιος[3] δὲ δὴ Κόρδος αὐτόχειρ ἑαυτοῦ γενέσθαι, ὅτι τῷ Σεϊανῷ προσέκρουσεν, ἠναγκάσθη· οὕτω γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔγκλημα ἐπαίτιον λαβεῖν ἠδυνήθη (καὶ γὰρ ἐν πύλαις ἤδη γήρως ἦν καὶ ἐπιεικέστατα ἐβεβιώκει) ὥστε ἐπὶ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ,
3 ἣν πάλαι ποτὲ περὶ τῶν τῷ Αὐγούστῳ πραχθέντων συνετεθείκει καὶ ἣν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος[4] ἀνεγνώκει, κριθῆναι, ὅτι τόν τε Κάσσιον καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐπῄνεσε, καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῆς τε βουλῆς καθήψατο, τόν τε Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Αὔγουστον εἶπε μὲν
4 κακὸν οὐδέν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὑπερεσέμνυνε. ταῦτά τε γὰρ ᾐτιάθη, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα αὐτός τε ἀπέθανε, καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα αὐτοῦ τότε μὲν τά τε[5] ἐν τῇ

[1] Ἀσίαν L', οὐσίαν VC.
[2] δεκαετηρὶς R. Steph., δεκαετηρὴς VCL'.
[3] Κρεμούτιος Xyl., κρεμούλιος VC, κλεμούλιος L'.
[4] For ἐκεῖνος H. Peter would read ἐκείνῳ, comparing Suet. *Tib.* 61.

Capito, who had been procurator of Asia, before the senate, and after charging him with employing soldiers and acting in other ways as if he had held supreme command, he banished him. For in those days officials administering the imperial funds were not allowed to do anything more than to collect the customary revenues, and in case of disputes, they must stand trial in the Forum and according to the laws, on an equal footing with ordinary citizens. A.D. 23

So great was the contrast between Tiberius' various acts. When the ten years of his rule had expired, he did not ask any vote for its renewal, for he had no desire to receive it piecemeal, as Augustus had done; nevertheless, the decennial festival was held. A.D. 24

Cremutius Cordus was forced to take his own life because he had come into collision with Sejanus. He was on the threshold of old age and had lived most irreproachably, so much so, in fact, that no serious charge could be brought against him, and he was therefore tried for his history of the achievements of Augustus which he had written long before, and which Augustus himself had read.[1] He was accused of having praised Cassius and Brutus, and of having assailed the people and the senate; as regarded Caesar and Augustus, while he had spoken no ill of them, he had not, on the other hand, shown any unusual respect for them. This was the complaint made against him, and this it was that caused his death as well as the burning of his writings; A.D. 25

[1] Or, if Peter's emendation (see critical note) be adopted, "which he himself had read to Augustus."

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[5] τά τε supplied by Kuiper, following Pflugk (τά).

πόλει εὑρεθέντα πρὸς τῶν ἀγορανόμων καὶ τὰ ἔξω πρὸς τῶν ἑκασταχόθι ἀρχόντων ἐκαύθη, ὕστερον δὲ[1] ἐξεδόθη τε αὖθις (ἄλλοι τε γὰρ καὶ μάλιστα ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ Μαρκία συνέκρυψεν αὐτά) καὶ πολὺ ἀξιοσπουδαστότερα[2] ὑπ' αὐτῆς[3] τῆς τοῦ Κόρδου συμφορᾶς ἐγένετο.

5 *Ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ τότε ὁ Τιβέριος τὴν τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ γυμνασίαν τοῖς βουλευταῖς, ὥσπερ ἀγνοοῦσι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν, ἐπέδειξεν, ὅπως καὶ πολλούς σφας καὶ ἐρρωμένους ἰδόντες μᾶλλον αὐτὸν[4] φοβῶνται.*
6 *τὸν μὲν οὖν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον ταῦτά τε ἐς ἱστορίας ἀπόδειξιν ἐγένετο, καὶ Κυζικηνῶν ἡ ἐλευθερία αὖθις, ὅτι τε Ῥωμαίους τινὰς ἔδησαν καὶ ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἡρῷον ὃ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ποιεῖν ἤρξαντο οὐκ*
7 *ἐξετέλεσαν, ἀφῃρέθη. πάντως δ' ἂν καὶ τὸν συμπωλήσαντα τῇ οἰκίᾳ τὸν ἀνδριάντα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ κριθέντα ἀπεκτόνει, εἰ μὴ ὁ ὕπατος αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τὴν γνώμην πρῶτον ἀνήρετο· αἰδεσθεὶς γὰρ μὴ καὶ ἑαυτῷ τι χαρίζεσθαι δόξῃ, τὴν*
8 *ἀπολύουσαν ἔθετο. Λεντούλου δέ τινος βουλευτοῦ φύσει τε ἐπιεικοῦς καὶ τότε ἐν γήρᾳ πολλῷ ὄντος κατηγόρησέ τις ὡς ἐπιβεβουλευκότος τῷ αὐτοκράτορι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Λέντουλος (παρῆν γάρ) ἀνεκάγχασεν· ὁ δὲ Τιβέριος, ἐπιθορυβησάσης τι πρὸς τοῦτο τῆς γερουσίας, "οὐδὲ ζῆν ἔτ'" ἔφη "ἄξιός εἰμι, εἴγε καὶ Λέντουλός με μισεῖ."*—Xiph. 140, 7–142, 18.

[1] δὲ L', om. VC.
[2] ἀξιοσπουδαστότερα L', ἀξιοσπουδαστότερον VC.

those found in the city at the time were destroyed by the aediles, and those elsewhere by the magistrates of each place. Later they were republished, for his daughter Marcia as well as others had hidden some copies; and they aroused much greater interest by very reason of Cordus' unhappy fate. A.D. 25

About this time Tiberius gave to the senators an exhibition of the pretorian guard at drill, as if they were ignorant of the power of these troops; his purpose was to make them more afraid of him, when they saw his defenders to be so numerous and so strong. There were other events, also, at this time worthy of a place in history. The people of Cyzicus were once more deprived of their freedom, because they had imprisoned some Romans and because they had not completed the shrine to Augustus which they had begun to build. A man who had sold the emperor's statue along with his house was brought to trial for doing this, and would certainly have been put to death by Tiberius, had not the consul called upon the emperor himself to give his vote first; for in this way Tiberius, being ashamed to appear to be favouring himself, cast his vote for acquittal. A senator, also, Lentulus, a man of mild disposition and now far advanced in years, was accused of having plotted against the emperor. Lentulus himself was present and burst out laughing. At this the senate was in an uproar, and Tiberius declared: "I am no longer worthy to live, if Lentulus, too, hates me."

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[3] ὑπ' αὐτῆς VC, ὑπὸ L'. [4] αὐτὸν CL', αὐτῶν V.

BOOK LVIII

1 Ἀπεδήμησε δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης, καὶ οὐκέτι τὸ παράπαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀνεκομίσθη, καίτοι μέλλων τε ἀεὶ καὶ ἐπαγγελλόμενος.—Xiph. 142, 18–21.

1a Πολλοῦ τε πάθους αἴτιος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο, κοινῇ τε καὶ ἰδίᾳ προσαναλίσκων τοὺς ἄνδρας. ἔδοξε γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰς τῶν κυνηγίων θέας τῆς πόλεως ἀπελάσαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτό τινες ἔξω ταύτας τελεῖν πειραθέντες αὐτοῖς συνδιεφθάρησαν τοῖς θεάτροις ἔκ τινων σανίδων εἰργασμένοις.—Joann. Antioch. fr. 79 § 5[b]. 6 M. (v. 25–30).

1 Λατιάριος[1] δέ τις ἑταῖρος Σαβίνου ἀνδρὸς τῶν πρώτων ἐν Ῥώμῃ, τῷ Σεϊανῷ χαριζόμενος, ἐς τὴν τοῦ οἰκήματος ἐν ᾧ διῃτᾶτο ὀροφὴν βουλευτὰς κατακρύψας ὑπηγάγετο τὸν Σαβῖνον ἐς λόγους, καί τι εἰπὼν ὧν εἰώθει, ἐπεσπάσατο καὶ ἐκεῖνον
2 πάνθ᾽ ὅσα ἐφρόνει ἐκλαλῆσαι. τῶν γάρ τοι συκοφαντεῖν ἐθελόντων ἔργον ἐστὶ λοιδορίας τέ τινος προκατάρχεσθαι καὶ ἀπόρρητόν τι ἐκφαίνειν, ἵνα ἀκούσας τι αὐτὸς ἢ καὶ ὅμοιόν τι εἰπὼν αἰτιαθῇ· τοῖς μὲν γάρ, ἅτε ἐκ παρασκευῆς τοῦτο δρῶσιν, ἀκίνδυνός ἐστιν ἡ παρρησία (οὐ γὰρ ὡς καὶ φρονοῦντές τινα, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἑτέρους ἐλέγξαι

[1] Λατιάριος Xyl., ῥατιάριος VCL′.

BOOK LVIII

Tiberius left Rome at this time and never again returned to the city, though he was forever on the point of doing so and kept sending messages to that effect. A.D. 26

He caused the Romans a great deal of calamity, since he wasted the lives of men both in the public service and for his private whim. For example, he decided to banish the hunting spectacles from the city; and when in consequence some persons attempted to exhibit them outside, they perished in the ruins of their own theatres, which had been constructed of boards. A.D. 27

A certain Latiaris, a companion of Sabinus (one of the most prominent men in Rome), wishing to do Sejanus a favour, concealed some senators in the garret of the apartment where his friend lived and then led Sabinus into conversation; and by throwing out some of his usual remarks he induced the other also to speak out freely all that he had on his mind. For it is the practice of such as desire to play the informer to lead off with some abusive remarks about someone and to disclose some secret, so that their victim, either for listening to them or for saying something similar, may lay himself liable to indictment. For the informers, naturally, inasmuch as they are acting thus with a purpose, this freedom of speech involves no danger, since they are supposed to speak as they do, not because of their A.D. 28

βουλόμενοι λέγειν αὐτὰ πιστεύονται), οἱ δ' ὅ τι ἂν καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον ἔξω τοῦ καθεστηκότος
3 εἴπωσι, κολάζονται. ὅπερ καὶ τότε ἐγένετο· ἔς τε γὰρ τὸ δεσμωτήριον αὐθημερὸν ὁ Σαβῖνος κατετέθη, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἄκριτος[1] ἐφθάρη, τό τε σῶμα αὐτοῦ κατὰ τῶν ἀναβασμῶν ἐρρίφη καὶ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνεβλήθη. καὶ δεινὸν μὲν τοῦτο τὸ πάθος καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸ ἅπασιν ἦν, ἐδείνωσε δ' αὐτὸ ἐπὶ πλέον κύων τις τοῦ Σαβίνου, συνεσελθών τε αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ οἴκημα καὶ ἀποθανόντι παραμείνας καὶ τέλος καὶ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν συνεσπεσών.

2 Τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτον ἐγένετο, ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ἡ Λιουία[2] μετήλλαξεν, ἓξ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη ζήσασα. καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Τιβέριος οὔτε νοσοῦσαν ἐπεσκέψατο οὔτ' ἀποθανοῦσαν αὐτὸς προέθετο·[3] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐς τιμὴν ἄλλο τι αὐτῇ πλὴν τῆς δημοσίας ἐκφορᾶς καὶ εἰκόνων ἑτέρων τέ τινων οὐδενὸς ἀξίων ἔνειμεν. ἀθανατισθῆναι
2 δὲ αὐτὴν ἄντικρυς ἀπηγόρευσεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ μόνα οἱ ἡ βουλή, ὅσα ἐκεῖνος ἐπέστειλεν, ἐψηφίσατο, ἀλλὰ πένθος ἐπ' αὐτῇ[4] παρ' ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐπήγγειλαν, καίπερ τὸν Τιβέριον ἐπαινέσαντες ὅτι τῆς τῶν κοινῶν διοική-
3 σεως οὐδὲ τότε ἀπέσχετο· καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἁψῖδα αὐτῇ, ὃ μηδεμιᾷ ἄλλῃ γυναικί, ἐψηφίσαντο, ὅτι τε οὐκ ὀλίγους σφῶν ἐσεσώκει, καὶ ὅτι παῖδας πολλῶν ἐτετρόφει κόρας τε πολλοῖς[5] συνεξεδεδώκει, ἀφ' οὗ γε καὶ μητέρα αὐτὴν τῆς πατρίδος

[1] ἄκριτος v. Herw., ἀκρίτως VCL'.
[2] Λιουία R. Steph., λιβία VCL'.
[3] προέθετο H. Wolf, προσέθετο VCL'.
[4] ἐπ' αὐτῇ Zon., αὐτῇ VCL'.

real feelings, but because of their desire to convict A.D. 28
others; their victims, on the other hand, are punished for the least word out of the ordinary that they may utter. This is what happened in the case in question. Sabinus was put in prison that very day, and later perished without trial, his body being flung down the Stairway[1] and cast into the river. This affair was tragic enough in itself in the eyes of all; but it was rendered still more tragic by the behaviour of a dog belonging to Sabinus that went with him to prison, remained beside him at his death, and finally leaped into the river with his body. So much for this affair.

At this time also Livia passed away at the age of A.D. 29
eighty-six. Tiberius neither paid her any visits during her illness nor did he himself lay out her body; in fact, he made no arrangements at all in her honour except for the public funeral and images and some other matters of no importance. As for her being deified, he forbade that absolutely. The senate, however, did not content itself with voting merely the measures that he had commanded, but ordered mourning for her during the whole year on the part of the women, although it approved the course of Tiberius in not abandoning the conduct of the public business even at this time. They furthermore voted an arch in her honour—a distinction conferred upon no other woman—because she had saved the lives of not a few of them, had reared the children of many, and had helped many to pay their daughters' dowries, in consequence of all which

[1] The *Scalae Gemoniae*.

[6] πολλοῖς Xiph., πλείοσι Zon.

τινὲς ἐπωνόμαζον. ἐν δὲ τῷ μνημείῳ ἐτάφη τῷ τοῦ Αὐγούστου.—Xiph. 142, 21–143, 25.

3ª *Οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν τισι καταλειφθέντων ὑπ' ἐκείνης δέδωκεν ὁ Τιβέριος.*—Zon. 11, 2 (p. 8, 18–19 D.).

4 *Καὶ αὐτῆς ἄλλα τε καλῶς εἰρημένα ἀποφθέγματα φέρεται, καὶ ὅτι γυμνούς ποτε ἄνδρας ἀπαντήσαντας αὐτῇ καὶ μέλλοντας διὰ τοῦτο θανατωθήσεσθαι ἔσωσεν, εἰποῦσα ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀνδριάντων*
5 *ταῖς σωφρονούσαις οἱ τοιοῦτοι διαφέρουσι. πυθομένου τέ τινος αὐτῆς πῶς καὶ τί δρῶσα οὕτω τοῦ Αὐγούστου κατεκράτησεν, ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι αὐτή τε ἀκριβῶς σωφρονοῦσα, καὶ πάντα τὰ δοκοῦντα αὐτῷ ἡδέως ποιοῦσα, καὶ μήτε ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐκείνου πολυπραγμονοῦσα, καὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια αὐτοῦ ἀθύρματα μήτε ἀκούειν μήτε αἰσθάνεσθαι*
6 *προσποιουμένη.*[1] *τοιαύτη μὲν*[2] *ἡ Λιουία*[3] *ἐγένετο, ἡ μέντοι ψηφισθεῖσα αὐτῇ ἀψὶς οὐκ ᾠκοδομήθη διὰ τὸ τὸν Τιβέριον τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τέλεσι κατασκευάσειν αὐτὴν ὑποσχέσθαι· κατοκνήσας γὰρ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ δόγμα λῦσαι, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀνέτρεψεν αὐτό, μήτ' ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων ἐπιτρέψας τὸ ἔργον*[4] *γενέσθαι μήτ' αὐτὸς ποιήσας.*

7 *Ὁ δὲ δὴ Σεϊανὸς ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἤρετο, καὶ ἐψηφίσθη ὅπως τὰ γενέθλια αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ ἑορτάζηται. τὸ γάρ τοι πλῆθος τῶν ἀνδριάντων ὧν ἥ τε βουλὴ καὶ ἡ ἱππὰς αἵ τε φυλαὶ καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ πρῶτοι ἔστησαν αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ ἐξηρίθμησεν ἄν*
8 *τις· πρέσβεις τε ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἡ γερουσία ἰδίᾳ δὲ οἱ*

[1] *ἀθύρματα μήτε ἀκούειν μήτε αἰσθάνεσθαι προσποιουμένη* Xiph., Exc. Plan., Zon., *ἐπὶ δώματα . . . μήτε αἰσθάνεσθαι προσποιουμένη* V, *ἐπὶ δώματα . . . μήτις εἰσθανέσθω παραποιουμένη* C,

some were calling her Mother of her Country. She was buried in the mausoleum of Augustus. A.D. 29

Tiberius did not pay to anybody a single one of her bequests.

Among the many excellent utterances of hers that are reported are the following. Once, when some naked men met her and were to be put to death in consequence, she saved their lives by saying that to chaste women such men are no whit different from statues. When someone asked her how and by what course of action she had obtained such a commanding influence over Augustus, she answered that it was by being scrupulously chaste herself, doing gladly whatever pleased him, not meddling with any of his affairs, and, in particular, by pretending neither to hear of nor to notice the favourites that were the objects of his passion. Such was the character of Livia. The arch voted to her, however, was not built, for the reason that Tiberius promised to construct it at his own expense; for, as he hesitated to annul the decree in so many words, he made it void in this way, by not allowing the work to be done at public expense nor yet attending to it himself.

Sejanus was rising to still greater heights. It was voted that his birthday should be publicly observed, and the multitude of statues that the senate and the equestrian order, the tribes and the foremost citizens set up, would have passed anyone's power to count. Separate envoys were sent to him and to Tiberius by

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ἀθύρματα μήτε διώκουσα μήτε αἰσθάνεσθαι προσποιουμένη L', ἀθύρματα μηδὲ αἰσθάνεσθαι προσποιουμένη Petr. Patric.

[2] μὲν V, οὖν L'.

[3] Λιουία R. Steph., λιβία VL'.

[4] ἐπιτρέψας τὸ ἔργον VC, τὸ ἔργον ἐπιτρέψας L'.

ἱππῆς[1] τό τε πλῆθος ἔκ τε τῶν δημάρχων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγορανόμων τῶν σφετέρων πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους[2] αὐτοὺς ἔπεμπον, καὶ εὔχοντο ὑπὲρ ἀμφοῖν ὁμοίως καὶ ἔθυον, τήν τε τύχην αὐτῶν ὤμνυσαν.—Xiph. 143, 25–144, 19.

3 Τῷ δὲ δὴ Γάλλῳ ὁ Τιβέριος, τῷ τήν τε γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἀγαγομένῳ[3] καὶ τῇ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς παρρησίᾳ χρησαμένῳ,[4] καιρὸν λαβὼν ἐπέθετο. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὸν Σεϊανὸν ἤτοι καὶ ἀληθῶς ὡς αὐταρχήσοντα[5] ἢ καὶ τῷ τοῦ Τιβερίου δέει θεραπεύων,
2 ἢ καὶ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς, ἵνα καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ διὰ κόρου γενόμενος φθαρῇ, τά τε πλείω οἱ καὶ τὰ μείζω ἐσηγήσατο καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς γενέσθαι ἐσπούδασεν, ἐπέστειλε περὶ αὐτοῦ τῇ βουλῇ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ὅτι τῷ Σεϊανῷ τῆς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν φιλίας φθονοίη, καίπερ αὐτὸς Συριακῷ φίλῳ
3 χρώμενος. καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐξέφηνε τῷ Γάλλῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ αὐτὸν ἐδεξιώσατο, ὥστε συμβῆναί οἱ[6] πρᾶγμα παραδοξότατον, καὶ ὃ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ συνηνέχθη· ἐν γὰρ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ παρά τε τῷ Τιβερίῳ εἱστιάθη καὶ φιλοτησίας ἔπιε, καὶ ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ κατεψηφίσθη, ὥστε καὶ στρατηγὸν τὸν δήσοντά τε[7] αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν τιμωρίαν[8]
4 ἀπάξοντα[9] πεμφθῆναι. καὶ μέντοι τοῦθ' οὕτως ὁ Τιβέριος πράξας οὐδ' ἀποθανεῖν αὐτῷ ἐθελή-

[1] ἱππῆς Bs., ἱππεῖς VCL'.
[2] ἀμφοτέρους VC, om. L'.
[3] ἀγαγομένῳ Pflugk, ἀγομένῳ VCL'.
[4] παρρησίᾳ χρησαμένῳ VC, χρησαμένῳ παρρησίᾳ L'.
[5] αὐταρχήσοντα Val., αὐταρχήσαντα cod. Peir.
[6] οἱ cod. Peir., αὐτῷ VCL'.
[7] τε om. cod. Peir.
[8] τιμωρίαν cod. Peir. L', ἐξορίαν V, ἐξωρίαν C.

the senate, by the knights, and also by the people, who selected theirs from the tribunes and from the plebeian aediles. For both of them alike they offered prayers and sacrifices and they took oaths by their Fortunes. A.D. 29

Tiberius now found an opportunity to attack Gallus, who had married the former wife of Tiberius[1] and had spoken his mind so freely regarding the empire.[2] He was now paying court to Sejanus, either sincerely, because he believed this minister would become emperor, or out of fear of Tiberius, or perhaps by way of a plot to make Sejanus irksome to the emperor himself and so cause his ruin; at any rate he proposed the greater and the more important part of the honours voted to him and strove to be one of the envoys. Tiberius, accordingly, sent a message about Gallus to the senate, declaring among other things that this man was jealous of the emperor's friendship for Sejanus, in spite of the fact that Gallus himself had Syriacus as his friend. He did not make this known to Gallus, but instead entertained him in a most hospitable manner. Thus this man had a most remarkable experience, one that never happened to anyone else: on one and the same day he was banqueted at the house of Tiberius, pledging him in the cup of friendship, and was condemned in the senate, so that a praetor was sent to bind him and lead him away to execution. Yet Tiberius, after acting in this manner, did not permit A.D. 30

[1] Vipsania Agrippina, whom Tiberius had divorced at Augustus' command, in order to marry Julia. See liv. 31, 2.
[2] Cf. lvii. 2, 5.

[9] ἀπάξοντα cod. Peir., ἄξοντα VL', ἄξοντες C.

σαντι, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῶν δεδογμένων ᾔσθετο,[1] ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ τε, ἵνα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον κακωθείη, θαρσεῖν ἐκέλευσε καὶ τῇ βουλῇ[2] ἐνετείλατο ὅπως ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ ᾖ, μέχρις ἂν αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀφίκηται, ἵν', ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐπὶ μακρότατον καὶ τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ ἅμα καὶ τῷ φόβῳ ταλαιπωρήσειε.
5 καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως· πρός τε γὰρ τῶν ἀεὶ ὑπάτων ἐτηρεῖτο (ἔξω τῆς τοῦ Τιβερίου ἀρχῆς· τότε γὰρ πρὸς τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐφυλάχθη), οὐχ ἵνα μὴ φύγῃ, ἀλλ'[3] ἵνα μὴ τελευτήσῃ, καὶ οὔτε ἑταῖρός τις οὔτ' οἰκέτης αὐτῷ συνεγίγνετο, οὔτ' ἐλάλει τινὶ οὔθ'[4] ἑώρα τινὰ πλὴν ὁπότε[5] τροφὴν
6 λαβεῖν ἠναγκάζετο. καὶ ἦν αὕτη τοιαύτη καὶ τοσαύτη ὥστε μήτε τινὰ ἡδονὴν ἢ καὶ[6] ῥώμην αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν μήτ' ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν ἐᾶν· τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν τὸ δεινότατον. ὃ καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων συχνῶν ὁ Τιβέριος ἐποίει· δήσας γοῦν τινα τῶν ἑταίρων, ἔπειτα λόγου περὶ τῆς θανατώσεως αὐτοῦ γενομένου ἔφη ὅτι "οὐδέπω αὐτῷ διήλλαγ-
7 μαι." ἕτερον μέντοι τινὰ καὶ πάνυ ἰσχυρῶς βασανίσας, ἔπειτα γνοὺς ὅτι ἀδίκως κατηγορήθη, καὶ πάνυ σπουδῇ ἀπέκτεινεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι χαλεπωτέρως ὕβρισται ἢ ὥστε καλῶς δύνασθαι ζῆν. Συριακὸς δ' οὔτ' ἀδικήσας τι οὔτ' αἰτιαθείς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ ἐλλόγιμος ὤν,[7] ἐσφάγη διὰ τοῦτο μόνον ὅτι φίλον αὐτὸν τοῦ Γάλλου ὁ Τιβέριος εἶπεν εἶναι.—Exc. Val. 191 (p. 667), Xiph. 144, 19–145, 22.

[1] ᾔσθετο L', καθ' ἓν V, space left in C.
[2] ἐκέλευσε καὶ τῇ βουλῇ supplied by Sylburg.
[3] οὐχ ἵνα μὴ φύγῃ (φάγῃ C) ἀλλ' VC, ἵνα μὴ φύγῃ οὐ μὰ δί' L'.
[4] οὔθ' L', οὐχ VC.

his victim to die, in spite of the other's desire for death as soon as he learned of the decree. Instead, in order to make his lot as cruel as possible, he bade Gallus be of good cheer and instructed the senate that he should be guarded without bonds until he himself should reach the city; his object, as I said, was to make the prisoner suffer as long as possible both from the loss of his civic rights and from terror. And so it came to pass; for he was kept under the eyes of the consuls of each year, except when Tiberius held the office, in which case he was guarded by the praetors; and this was done, not to prevent his escape, but to prevent his death. He had no companion or servant with him, spoke to no one, and saw no one, except when he was compelled to take food. And the food was of such quality and amount as neither to afford him any satisfaction or strength nor yet to allow him to die. This was, in fact, the most terrible part of his punishment. Tiberius did the same thing in the case of several others. For instance, he imprisoned one of his companions, and then, when there was talk about executing him, he said: "I have not yet made my peace with him." Another man he tortured very severely, and then, on ascertaining that the victim had been unjustly accused, he caused him to be killed with all speed, declaring that he had been too terribly outraged to live with honour. Syriacus, who had neither committed nor been charged with any wrong, but was renowned for his culture, was slain merely because Tiberius declared he was a friend of Gallus. A.D. 30

[5] ὁπότε Bk., ὁπόταν VCL′. [6] ἢ καὶ VC, καὶ L′.

[7] ἐλλόγιμος ὢν L′ (and V by corr.), ἀλλὸ ὢν (sic) V first hand, ἀλλ' ὅμως ὢν C.

8 Ὅτι ὁ Σεϊανὸς καὶ τὸν Δροῦσον διέβαλε διὰ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ. πάσας γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν τὰς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν γαμετὰς μοιχεύων τά τε λεγόμενα ἢ καὶ πραττόμενα ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἐμάνθανε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ συνεργούς σφας ὡς καὶ γαμηθησομένας οἱ ἐποιεῖτο, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Τιβέριος ἁπλῶς τὸν Δροῦσον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν, ὁ Σεϊανὸς δείσας μὴ μεταβάληται, ἔπεισε τὸν Κάσσιον χρηματίσαι τι κατ' αὐτοῦ.—Exc. Val. 192 (p. 669).

9 Τὸν δὲ Σεϊανὸν ὁ Τιβέριος ἐπὶ μέγα δόξης ἐπάρας καὶ κηδεστὴν ἐπὶ Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Δρούσου θυγατρὶ ποιησάμενος ὕστερον ἔκτεινε.—Zon. 11, 2 (p. 8, 31–9, 1 D.).

4 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Σεϊανὸς καὶ μείζων καὶ φοβερώτερος ἀεὶ ἐγίγνετο, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκείνῳ μὲν ὡς καὶ αὐτοκράτορι προσέχειν, τὸν δὲ Τιβέριον ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ ποιεῖσθαι. μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Τιβέριος οὔτε ἐν ἐλαφρῷ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐποιήσατο, φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ἄντικρυς αὐτὸν ἀποδείξωσιν, οὔτε ἠμέλησεν. ἐκ μὲν δὴ
2 οὖν τοῦ προφανοῦς οὐδὲν ἔδρασε· τό τε γὰρ δορυφορικὸν πᾶν ἰσχυρῶς ᾠκείωτο, καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν τὸ μὲν εὐεργεσίαις τὸ δὲ ἐλπίσι τὸ δὲ καὶ φόβῳ προσεπεποίητο, τούς τε περὶ τὸν Τιβέριον ὄντας οὕτω πάντας προσηταίριστο ὥστε τὰ μὲν ἐκείνου πάντα ἁπλῶς, καὶ ὅσα ἔλεγε καὶ ὅσα ἔπραττε, παραυτίκα οἱ ἀγγέλλεσθαι, τὰ δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
3 δρώμενα μηδένα τῷ Τιβερίῳ δηλοῦν. ἄλλως οὖν αὐτὸν μετεπορεύετο, καὶ ὕπατόν τε αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε

[1] Drusus, the son of Germanicus. Cf. lvii. 22, 4ᵃ.

Sejanus brought false accusation also against Drusus[1] through the medium of the latter's wife. For by maintaining illicit relations with the wives of nearly all the distinguished men, he learned what their husbands were saying and doing; and he furthermore made them accessories to his crimes by promising to marry them. When, now, Tiberius merely sent Drusus to Rome, Sejanus, fearing that he might change his mind, persuaded Cassius[2] to propose some action against him. A.D. 30

After exalting Sejanus to a high pinnacle of glory and making him a member of his family by his alliance with Julia, the daughter of Drusus, Tiberius later killed him.

Now Sejanus was growing greater and more formidable all the time, so that the senators and the rest looked up to him as if he were actually emperor and held Tiberius in slight esteem. When Tiberius learned this, he did not treat the matter lightly or disregard it, since he feared they might declare his rival emperor outright. He did nothing openly, to be sure, for Sejanus had completely won over the entire Pretorian guard and had gained the favour of the senators, partly by the benefits he conferred, partly by the hopes he inspired, and partly by intimidation: he had furthermore made all the associates of Tiberius so completely his friends that they immediately reported to him absolutely everything the emperor either said or did, whereas no one informed Tiberius of what Sejanus did. Hence Tiberius proceeded to attack him in another way; he appointed him consul and termed him Sharer of

[2] The consul of that year, either C. Cassius Longinus or his brother L. Cassius Longinus.

καὶ κοινωνὸν τῶν φροντίδων ὠνόμαζε, "Σεϊανός" τε "ὁ ἐμός" πολλάκις ἐπαναλαμβάνων ἔλεγε, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ γράφων πρός τε τὴν βουλὴν καὶ
4 πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐδήλου. τούτοις οὖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀπατώμενοι καὶ πιστεύοντες χαλκοῦς τε αὐτοὺς ἁπανταχοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου ἵστασαν, κἀν ταῖς γραφαῖς συνέγραφον, δίφρους τε ἐπιχρύσους ἐς τὰ θέατρα ἀμφοῖν ἐσέφερον· καὶ τέλος ἐψηφίσθη ὑπάτους τέ σφας διὰ πέντε ἐτῶν ἅμα ἀποδείκνυσθαι, καὶ ἀπάντησιν, ὁπότε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσίοιεν, ἀμφοτέροις ὁμοίως γίγνεσθαι. καὶ τέλος καὶ ταῖς εἰκόσιν αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ καὶ ταῖς τοῦ Τιβερίου ἔθυον.

5 Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ[1] τὸν Σεϊανὸν τοιαῦτα ἦν,[2] τῶν δὲ ἄλλων πολλοὶ καὶ ὀνομαστοὶ ἐφθάρησαν, ὧν ἦν καὶ Γάιος Φούφιος[3] Γέμινος.[4] ἀσεβείας γὰρ ἐς τὸν Τιβέριον ἐγκληθεὶς τὰς διαθήκας ἔς τε τὸ συνέδριον ἐσεκόμισε καὶ ἀνέγνω, δηλῶν ὅτι τὸν κλῆρον ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς τέκνοις καὶ ἐκείνῳ κατα-
6 λελοιπὼς ἦν· καὶ μαλακίας αἰτιαθεὶς ἀπῆλθεν οἴκαδε πρὶν ψηφισθῆναί τι, καὶ μαθὼν τὸν ταμίαν ἐπὶ δικαιώσει αὐτοῦ παρόντα αὐτός τε ἑαυτὸν ἔτρωσε, καὶ ἐκείνῳ τὸ τραῦμα δείξας "ἀπάγγειλον" ἔφη "τῇ γερουσίᾳ ὅτι ἀνὴρ οὕτως ἀποθνήσκει." καὶ ἡ γυνὴ δὲ αὐτοῦ Μουτιλία[5] Πρίσκα ἔγκλημά τι λαβοῦσα ἐσῆλθέ τε ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον, κἀνταῦθα ἑαυτὴν ἐγχειριδίῳ τινί, ὃ λάθρα ἐσεκεκομίκει, ἔσφαξεν.—Xiph. 145, 22–146, 30.

7 Ἐπὶ τούτοις τε Μουκίαν καὶ τὸν ταύτης ἄνδρα

[1] περὶ VL′, πρὸς C. [2] ἦν VC, om. L′.
[3] Φούφιος Nipperdey, ῥοῦφος VCL′.
[4] Γέμινος Nipperdey, γεμίνιος VCL′.

his Cares, often repeated the phrase "My Sejanus," A.D. 30
and published the same by using it in letters addressed to the senate and to the people. Men were accordingly deceived by this behaviour, taking it to be sincere, and so set up bronze statues everywhere to both alike, wrote their names together in the records, and brought gilded chairs into the theatres for both. Finally it was voted that they should be made consuls together every five years and that a body of citizens should go out to meet both alike whenever they entered Rome. And in the end they sacrificed to the images of Sejanus as they did to those of Tiberius.

While matters were going thus with Sejanus, many of the other prominent men perished, among them Gaius Fufius Geminus. This man, having been accused of *maiestas* against Tiberius, took his will into the senate-chamber and read it, showing that he had left his inheritance in equal portions to his children and to the emperor. Upon being charged with cowardice, he went home before a vote was taken; then, when he learned that the quaestor had arrived to look after his execution, he wounded himself, and showing the wound to the official, exclaimed: "Report to the senate that it is thus one dies who is a man." Likewise his wife, Mutilia Prisca, against whom some complaint had been lodged, entered the senate-chamber and there stabbed herself with a dagger, which she had brought in secretly.

Next he destroyed Mucia[1] and her husband and

[1] An error for Mutilia.

[5] Μουτιλία Freinsheim, πουπλία VCL', μουκία Joann. Antioch.

ἅμα δυσὶ θυγατράσιν ἀνεῖλε διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὴν
αὐτοῦ μητέρα φιλίαν.—Joann. Antioch. fr. 79
§ 7 M. (v. 35–37).

8 Ὅτι ἐπὶ Τιβερίου πάντες οἱ κατηγοροῦντές
τινων χρήματα καὶ πολλά γε ἔκ τε τῶν οὐσιῶν
αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τιμάς
τινας ἐλάμβανον. ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι προχείρως
τινὰς θορυβοῦντες ἢ καὶ ἑτοίμως τινῶν κατα-
ψηφιζόμενοι, οἱ μὲν εἰκόνας οἱ δὲ καὶ τιμὰς ἐπινι-
κίους ἐκτῶντο. ὥστε τινὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἐλλογίμων,
ἀξιωθέντας τοιούτου τινός, μὴ ἐθελῆσαι αὐτὸ
προσθέσθαι, ἵνα μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ δόξωσί ποτε ὅμοιοι
ἐκείνοις γεγονέναι.—Exc. Val. 193 (p. 669).

9 Ὅτι Τιβέριος νόσον προσποιησάμενος τὸν Σεϊ-
ανὸν ὡς καὶ ἐπακολουθήσων εἰς Ῥώμην προέ-
πεμψε λέγων μέρος τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς
ψυχῆς ἀποσπᾶσθαι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ περιέβαλεν
αὐτὸν[1] καὶ κατεφίλησεν μετὰ δακρύων ὥστε
Σεϊανὸν ἐπὶ πλέον ἐπαίρεσθαι.—Petr. Patr. *Exc.
Vat.* 10, p. 199 sq. Mai. (p. 183, 11–16 Dind.).

5 Ὁ δὲ Σεϊανὸς τοσοῦτος ἦν τῇ τε ὑπεροχῇ[2] τοῦ
φρονήματος καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἐξουσίας ὥστε
συνελόντι εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν μὲν αὐτοκράτορα τὸν δὲ
Τιβέριον νησίαρχόν τινα εἶναι δοκεῖν διὰ τὸ ἐν
τῇ νήσῳ τῇ λεγομένῃ Καπρίᾳ τὰς διατριβὰς
2 ποιεῖσθαι. σπουδαί τε[3] καὶ ὠθισμοὶ περὶ τὰς
θύρας αὐτοῦ ἐγίγνοντο ἐκ τοῦ δεδιέναι μὴ μόνον
μὴ οὐκ ὀφθῇ τις αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ μὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς
ὑστάτοις φανῇ· πάντα γὰρ ἀκριβῶς, καὶ μάλιστα
τὰ τῶν πρώτων, ἐτηρεῖτο καὶ τὰ ῥήματα καὶ τὰ
3 νεύματα. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οἰκείᾳ ἀξιώσει προύχοντες
οὔτε τὰ δεξιώματα παρά τινων πάνυ ἀπαιτοῦσι,

two daughters on account of her friendship for his mother. A.D. 30

Under Tiberius all who accused any persons received money, and large sums too, both from the victims' estates and from the public treasury, and various honours besides. There were cases, too, where men who recklessly threw others into a panic or readily passed sentence of death upon them obtained either images or triumphal honours. Hence several distinguished men who were held worthy of some such honour would not accept it, lest they might one day be thought to have been like these men.

Tiberius, feigning illness, sent Sejanus on to Rome with the assurance that he himself would follow. He declared that a part of his own body and soul was being wrenched away from him, and with tears he embraced and kissed him, so that Sejanus was still more elated.

Sejanus was so great a person by reason both of his excessive haughtiness and of his vast power, that, A.D. 31
to put it briefly, he himself seemed to be emperor and Tiberius a kind of island potentate, inasmuch as the latter spent his time on the island of Capreae. There was rivalry and jostling about the great man's doors, the people fearing not merely that they might not be seen by their patron, but also that they might be among the last to appear before him; for every word and every look, especially in the case of the most prominent men, was carefully observed. Those, now, who hold a prominent position as the result of native worth are not much given to seeking signs of friendship from others, and if such manifestations are

[1] αυτον Mai, ἑαυτὸν cod. [2] τε ὑπεροχῇ L′, ὑπεροχῇ τε VC. [3] τε VL′, δὲ C.

κἂν ἄρα καὶ ἐκλειφθῇ τι αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἐγκαλοῦσί
σφισιν, ἅτε καὶ ἑαυτοῖς συνειδότες ὅτι μὴ κατα-
φρονοῦνται· οἱ δὲ ἐπακτῷ καλλωπίσματι χρώμενοι
πάντα ἰσχυρῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν τοῦ
ἀξιώματός σφων πλήρωσιν ἀναγκαῖα, ἐπιζητοῦσι,
κἂν μὴ τύχωσιν αὐτῶν, ἄχθονταί τε ὡς δια-
4 βαλλόμενοι καὶ ὀργίζονται ὡς ὑβριζόμενοι. καὶ
διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον περὶ τοὺς τοιούτους ἢ περὶ
αὐτοὺς ὡς εἰπεῖν τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας σπουδάζουσιν,
ὅτι τοῖς μέν, κἂν πλημμεληθῇ τι, ἀρετὴν τὸ
συγγνῶναί τῳ φέρει, τοῖς δὲ τοῦτο μὲν τὴν ἀσθέ-
νειάν σφων ἐλέγχειν δοκεῖ, τὸ δὲ ἐπεξελθεῖν καὶ
τιμωρήσασθαι βεβαίωσιν τοῦ μέγα δύνασθαι
ἔχειν νομίζεται.[1]
5 Ἐν δέ τινι νουμηνίᾳ πάντων συνιόντων ἐς τὴν
οἰκίαν τοῦ Σεϊανοῦ ἥ τε κλίνη ἡ ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ,
ἐν ᾧ ἠσπάζετο, κειμένη πᾶσα ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου τῶν
ἱζησάντων συνετρίβη, καὶ προϊόντος αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς
6 οἰκίας γαλῆ διὰ μέσων σφων διῇξεν. ἐπειδή
τε καὶ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ θύσας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν
κατῄει, οἱ οἰκέται αὐτοῦ οἱ δορυφόροι διά τε τῆς
ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐς[2] τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀγούσης ἐξετράποντο,
μὴ δυνηθέντες αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου ἐπακολου-
θῆσαι, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀναβασμῶν καθ' ὧν οἱ
δικαιούμενοι ἐρριπτοῦντο κατιόντες ὤλισθον καὶ
7 κατέπεσον. οἰωνιζομένου τε μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ
τῶν μὲν αἰσίων ὀρνίθων ἐπεφάνη οὐδείς, κόρακες
δὲ δὴ πολλοὶ[3] περιπτάμενοι καὶ περικρώξαντες
αὐτὸν ἀπέπταντο ἀθρόοι πρὸς τὸ οἴκημα καὶ ὑπὲρ
αὐτοῦ ἐκαθέζοντο.

[1] *νομίζεται* VL', *νομίζεσθαι* C.
[2] *ἐς* R. Steph., *εἰς* VCL'.

wanting on the part of these others, they do not tax them with it, inasmuch as they know full well that they are not being looked down upon; but those, on the other hand, who enjoy an adventitious splendour seek very eagerly all such attentions, feeling them to be necessary to render their position complete, and if they fail to obtain them, are as vexed as if they were being slandered and as angry as if they were being insulted. Consequently the world is more scrupulous in the case of such persons than in the case of the emperors themselves, one might almost say; since for the latter it counts as a virtue to pardon anyone in case of an offence, but by the former such conduct is thought to argue their weakness, whereas to attack and to exact vengeance is considered to furnish proof of great power. A.D. 31

Now on a New Year's day, when all were assembling at Sejanus' house, the couch that stood in the reception room utterly collapsed under the weight of the throng seated upon it; and, as he was leaving the house, a weasel darted through the midst of the crowd. After he had sacrificed on the Capitol and was now descending to the Forum, the servants who were acting as his body-guard turned aside along the road leading to the prison, being unable by reason of the crowd to keep up with him, and while they were descending the steps down which condemned criminals were cast, they slipped and fell. Later, as he was taking the auspices, not one bird of good omen appeared, but many crows flew round him and cawed, then all flew off together to the jail and perched there.

[3] πολλοὶ VC, om. L'.

6 Τούτων οὖν τῶν τεράτων οὔθ' ὁ Σεϊανὸς οὔτ' ἄλλος τις ἐνθύμιον ἐποιήσατο· πρὸς γὰρ τὴν τῶν παρόντων ὄψιν οὐδ' ἂν εἰ σαφῶς θεός τις προέλεγεν ὅτι τοσαύτη δι' ὀλίγου μεταβολὴ
2 γενήσοιτο, ἐπίστευσεν ἄν τις. τήν τε οὖν τύχην[1] αὐτοῦ κατακορῶς[2] ὤμνυσαν, καὶ συνάρχοντα τοῦ Τιβερίου, οὐκ ἐς τὴν ὑπατείαν ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ κράτος ὑποσημαίνοντες, ἐπεκάλουν.[3] Τιβέριος δὲ ἠγνόει μὲν οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν κατ' αὐτόν, βουλευόμενος[4] δὲ ὅντινα τρόπον αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνῃ, καὶ οὐχ εὑρίσκων ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τοῦτο ποιήσει, θαυμαστὸν δή τινα τρόπον καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥστε τὴν γνώμην αὐτῶν ἀκριβῶς
3 μαθεῖν, ἐχρήσατο. περί τε γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα καὶ τῷ Σεϊανῷ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ συνεχῶς ἐπέστελλε, νῦν μὲν λέγων[5] φλαύρως ἔχειν καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη τελευτήσειν, νῦν δὲ καὶ σφόδρα ὑγιαίνειν καὶ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην
4 ἀφίξεσθαι· καὶ τὸν Σεϊανὸν τοτὲ μὲν πάνυ ἐπῄνει τοτὲ δὲ πάνυ καθῄρει, τῶν τε ἑταίρων αὐτοῦ τοὺς μὲν ἐτίμα δι' ἐκεῖνον τοὺς δ' ἠτίμαζεν. ὥστε ὁ Σεϊανὸς ἐν τῷ μέρει καὶ τοῦ ὑπερόγκου καὶ τοῦ ὑπερφόβου πληρούμενος ἀεὶ μετέωρος ἦν· οὔτε γὰρ δεδιέναι αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ νεοχμῶσαί τι ἐπῄει,[6] καὶ γὰρ ἐτιμᾶτο,[7] οὔτ' αὖ θαρσεῖν[8] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιτολμῆσαί τι, καὶ γὰρ ἐκο-
5 λούετο. καὶ μέντοι καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐναλλὰξ

[1] τύχην CL′, τέχνην V.
[2] κατακορῶς Bk., κατακορεῖς VCL′.
[3] ἐπεκάλουν VC, ἐδήλουν L′.
[4] βουλευόμενος Xyl., βουλόμενος VCL′.
[5] λέγων Bk., λέγων ὅτι VCL′.
[6] ἐπῄει L′, ἐπιήει V, ἐποίει C.

BOOK LVIII

Neither Sejanus nor anyone else took these omens to heart. For, in view of the way matters stood, not even if some god had plainly foretold that so great a change would take place in a short time, would anyone have believed it. So they swore by his Fortune interminably and called him Tiberius' colleague, covertly referring to the supreme power rather than to the consulship. Tiberius, however, who was no longer ignorant of anything that concerned his minister, was planning how he might put him to death; but, not finding any way of doing this openly and safely, he handled both Sejanus himself and the Romans in general in a remarkable fashion, so as to learn exactly what was in their minds. He kept sending despatches of all kinds regarding himself both to Sejanus and to the senate, now saying that he was in a bad state of health and almost at the point of death, and now that he was exceedingly well and would arrive in Rome directly. At one moment he would heartily praise Sejanus, and again would as heartily denounce him; and, while honouring some of Sejanus' friends out of regard for him, he would be disgracing others. Thus Sejanus, filled in turn with extreme elation and extreme fear, was in constant suspense; for it never occurred to him, on the one hand, to be afraid and so attempt a revolution, inasmuch as he was still held in honour, nor, on the other hand, to be bold and attempt some desperate venture, inasmuch as he was frequently abased. So also with the people at large: they kept hearing alternately the most contradictory reports A.D. 31

[7] καὶ γὰρ ἐτιμᾶτο om. L'.
[8] θαρσεῖν Bk., θαρρεῖν VOL'.

καὶ δι' ὀλίγου τὰ ἐναντιώτατα ἀκούοντες, καὶ μήτε τὸν Σεϊανὸν θαυμάζειν ἔτι ἢ καὶ καταφρονεῖν ἔχοντες, ἔς τε τὸν Τιβέριον ὡς καὶ τεθνήξοντα ἢ καὶ ἥξοντα ὑποπτεύοντες, ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ ἐγίγνοντο.

7 Σεϊανὸν μὲν οὖν ταῦτά τε ἐτάραττε, καὶ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ὅτι ἐξ ἀνδριάντος τινὸς αὐτοῦ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καπνὸς πολὺς ἀνέθορεν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἀφαιρεθείσης[1] τῆς κεφαλῆς ὅπως τὸ γιγνόμενον ἴδωσιν, ὄφις μέγας ἀνεπήδησεν, ἑτέρας τε εὐθὺς ἀντεπι-
2 τεθείσης αὐτῷ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐκείνου[2] θύσειν ἑαυτῷ μέλλοντος (τά τε γὰρ [Xiph. 146, 30–149, 6] ἄλλα[3] καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἔθυε), σχοινίον περὶ τὸν αὐχένα αὐτοῦ περικείμενον εὑρέθη. Τύχης τέ τι ἄγαλμα, ὃ ἐγεγόνει μέν, ὥς φασι, Τουλλίου[4] τοῦ βασιλεύσαντός ποτε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τότε δὲ ὁ Σεϊανὸς[5]
3 οἴκοι τε εἶχε καὶ μεγάλως ἤγαλλεν, αὐτός τε θύων εἶδεν ἀποστρεφόμενον . . . .[6] καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' ἕτεροι συνεξιόντες σφίσιν. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι ὑπώπτευον μέν που ταῦτα, ἀγνοοῦντες δὲ δὴ τὴν τοῦ Τιβερίου διάνοιαν, καὶ προσεκλογιζόμενοι τό τε ἐκείνου ἔμπληκτον καὶ τὸ τῶν πραγ-
4 μάτων ἀστάθμητον, ἐπημφοτέριζον, καὶ ἰδίᾳ μὲν τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀσφαλείας διεσκόπουν, κοινῇ δὲ δὴ ἐθεράπευον αὐτὸν διά τε τἆλλα καὶ ὅτι καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος ἱερέας μετὰ τοῦ Γαΐου[7] καὶ ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐποίησε, καὶ τήν τε ἀνθυπατικὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ ἔδωκαν, καὶ προσεψηφίσαντο

[1] δὲ ἀφαιρεθείσης VL′, διαφαιρεθείσης C.
[2] ἐκείνου Sylburg, ἐκείνου τε VCL′.
[3] M resumes with ἄλλα.
[4] Τουλλίου R. Steph., τοῦ ἀλίου M.
[5] Σεϊανὸς Bs, σιανὸς M (so regularly).

which came at brief intervals, and so were unable either to regard Sejanus any longer with admiration or, on the other hand, to hold him in contempt, while as for Tiberius, they were kept guessing whether he was going to die or return to Rome; consequently they were in a continual state of doubt. A.D. 31

Sejanus was disturbed by all this, and much more disturbed when from one of his statues there at first burst forth smoke, and then, when the head was removed so that the trouble might be investigated, a huge serpent leapt up; then, when a new head was straightway placed upon the statue, and Sejanus was about to offer sacrifice to himself on account of the omen (for he was wont to include himself in such sacrifices), a rope was discovered coiled about the neck of the statue. Again, there was the behaviour of a statue of Fortune, which had belonged, they say, to Tullius, one of the former kings of Rome, but was at this time kept by Sejanus at his house and was a source of great pride to him: he himself saw this statue turn its back to him while he was sacrificing . . . . . . and later others who went out with them. These incidents aroused the suspicions of the people; but since they did not know the intentions of Tiberius, and, besides, had to take into consideration his caprice and the instability of human affairs, they were steering a middle course. Privately they kept a sharp eye to their own safety, but publicly they paid court to him, the more so as Tiberius had made both Sejanus and his son priests along with Gaius. So they gave him the proconsular power, and also voted that the

[6] lacuna indicated by Xyl.

[7] μετὰ τοῦ Γαΐου Bs., μετὰ Γαΐου Reim., μετ' αὐτοῦ τε M.

πᾶσιν ἀεὶ τοῖς ὑπατεύουσι παραγγέλλεσθαι κατὰ
5 τὸ ἐκείνου ζήλωμα ἄρξαι. ὁ δ' οὖν Τιβέριος ταῖς
μὲν ἱερωσύναις ἐτίμησεν αὐτόν, οὐ μὴν καὶ μετεπέμψατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰτησαμένῳ οἱ ὅπως ἐς τὴν Καμπανίαν ἐπὶ προφάσει τῆς μελλονύμφου νοσησάσης ἔλθῃ, κατὰ χώραν μεῖναι προσέταξεν ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ὅσον οὔπω ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφιξόμενος.

8 Ἔκ τε οὖν τούτων ὁ Σεϊανὸς αὖθις ἠλλοιοῦτο,
καὶ διότι καὶ τὸν Γάιον ὁ Τιβέριος ἱερέα ἀποδείξας ἐπῄνεσε, καί τι καὶ ὡς διάδοχον αὐτὸν τῆς μον-
2 αρχίας ἕξων[1] ἐνεδείκνυτο. κἂν ἐνεόχμωσέ τι,
ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς πάντα ἑτοίμως ὑπακοῦσαι αὐτῷ ἐχόντων, εἰ μὴ τὸν δῆμον ἰσχυρῶς τοῖς περὶ τοῦ Γαΐου λεχθεῖσι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μνήμην ἡσθέντα εἶδε· πρότερον γὰρ νομίζων καὶ ἐκείνους πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι, τότε ὡς ᾔσθετο τὰ τοῦ Γαΐου σπουδάζοντας,
3 ἠθύμησε. καὶ ὁ μὲν μετεγίγνωσκεν ὅτι μηδὲν
ἐν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ ἐνεόχμωσεν, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι . . .[2]
διά τε ταῦτα, καὶ ὅτι ὁ Τιβέριος ἐχθρόν τινα αὐτοῦ ᾑρημένον μὲν πρὸ δέκα ἐτῶν Ἰβηρίας ἄρξαι, κρινόμενον δὲ ἐπί τισιν ἐξ ἐκείνου ἀφῆκε, καὶ δι' αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἡγεμονεύσειν τινῶν ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι δημόσιον πράξειν μέλλουσιν ἄδειαν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ τῶν τοιούτων δικῶν ἔδωκε.

[1] ἕξων R. Steph., ἐξ ὧν M.
[2] lacuna recognized by Bk., who supplied ἠλλοιοῦντο (were becoming alienated) or αὐτοῦ κατεφρόνησαν (despised him).

consuls of each year should be instructed to emulate him in their conduct of the office. As for Tiberius, though he honoured him with the priesthoods, yet he did not send for him; instead, when Sejanus requested permission to go to Campania, pleading as an excuse that his betrothed was ill, the emperor directed him to remain where he was, because he himself was going to arrive in Rome almost immediately. A.D. 31

This was one reason, then, why Sejanus was again becoming alienated; there was also the fact that Tiberius, after appointing Gaius priest, praised him and gave some indications that he intended to make him his successor to the throne. Sejanus would therefore have set on foot a rebellion, especially as the soldiers were ready to obey him in everything, had he not perceived that the populace was immensely pleased at the compliments paid to Gaius, out of reverence for the memory of Germanicus, his father. For he had previously supposed that they, too, were on his side, and now, finding them earnest supporters of Gaius, he became dejected, and regretted that he had not begun a rebellion during his consulship. The rest [were becoming alienated from him], not only for these reasons, but also because Tiberius quashed an indictment against an enemy of Sejanus, a man who had been chosen ten years before to govern Spain, and was now, thanks to the influence of Sejanus, being brought to trial on certain charges; whereupon, because of this case, he granted a general immunity from such suits, during the interval before taking office, to all who were designated to govern provinces or to perform any other public business. And in a letter to the

4 τῇ τε γερουσίᾳ περὶ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἀποθανόντος
γράφων Σεϊανὸν ἁπλῶς αὐτὸν ὠνόμασε, μηδὲν
ὧνπερ εἴθιστο προσθείς· καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀπεῖπε
μήτ' ἀνθρώπων τινὶ θύεσθαι, διότι καὶ ἐκείνῳ
τοῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, μήτε ἐπὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ τιμῇ τι χρημα-
τίζεσθαι, διότι πολλὰ ἐκείνῳ ἐψηφίζετο. τοῦτο
γὰρ ἀπηγορεύκει μὲν καὶ πρότερον, τότε δὲ διὰ
τὸν Σεϊανὸν ἀνενεώσατο· οὐ γάρ που ὁ μηδὲν
ἑαυτῷ τοιοῦτο γίγνεσθαι ἐπιτρέπων ἄλλῳ γε
ἐφίει.
9 Ἐπ' οὖν τούτοις ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ κατε-
φρόνησαν, ὥστε καὶ φανερώτερον ἢ λανθάνειν καὶ
ἐξίστασθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγκαταλείπειν.[1] μαθὼν
οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Τιβέριος, καὶ θαρσήσας ὡς καὶ τὸν
δῆμον καὶ τὴν βουλὴν συμμάχους ἕξων, ἐπεχεί-
2 ρησεν αὐτῷ· καὶ προκαθεὶς[2] τὸν[3] λόγον ὅτι
τὴν[4] ἐξουσίαν οἱ τὴν δημαρχικὴν δώσοι, ὅπως
ἀπροσδόκητον αὐτὸν ὅτι μάλιστα λάβῃ, ἐπέ-
στειλε κατ' αὐτοῦ τῷ συνεδρίῳ διὰ Ναιουίου[5]
Σερτωρίου Μάκρωνος, ἄρχειν τε αὐτὸν τῶν
σωματοφυλάκων κρύφα προκαταστήσας, καὶ
3 πάνθ' ὅσα ἐχρῆν πραχθῆναι προδιδάξας. καὶ
ὃς νύκτωρ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὡς καὶ κατ' ἄλλο
τι ἐλθών, τά τε ἐπεσταλμένα οἱ Μεμμίῳ τε
Ῥηγούλῳ τότε ὑπατεύοντι (ὁ γὰρ συνάρχων αὐ-
τοῦ τὰ τοῦ Σεϊανοῦ ἐφρόνει) καὶ Γραικινίῳ[6]
Λάκωνι τῷ τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων ἄρχοντι ἐπε-

[1] ἐγκαταλείπειν Xiph., ἐγκαταλιπεῖν M.
[2] προκαθεὶς Xiph., προσκαθεὶς M.
[3] τὸν om. Xiph.
[4] τὴν Reiske, τήν τε M.
[5] Ναιουίου M, Ναιβίου Xiph.
[6] Γραικινίῳ Bs., γρακίνωι M Xiph.

senate about the death of Nero[1] he referred to Sejanus by that name simply, without the addition of the customary titles. Moreover, because sacrifices were being offered to Sejanus, he forbade such offerings to be made to any human being; and because many honours were being voted to Sejanus, he forbade the consideration of any measure which proposed honours for himself. He had, to be sure, forbidden this practice still earlier, but now, because of Sejanus, he renewed his injunction; for one who allowed nothing of the sort to be done in his own case would naturally not permit it in the case of another. A.D. 31

In view of all this, people began to hold Sejanus more and more in contempt; in fact they even avoided meeting him or being left alone with him, and that in a manner too marked not to be noticed. When, therefore, Tiberius learned of this, he took courage, believing that he should have the populace and the senate on his side, and attacked him. And first, in order to take him off his guard as completely as possible, he spread the report that he was going to give him the tribunician power. Then he sent a communication against him to the senate by the hands of Naevius Sertorius Macro, whom he had already secretly appointed to command the bodyguards and had instructed in regard to all that required to be done. Macro entered Rome by night, as if on some different errand, and communicated his instructions to Memmius Regulus, then consul (his colleague sided with Sejanus), and to Graecinius Laco, commander of the night-watch. At dawn

[1] The son of Germanicus. Cf. lvii. 18, 10 and Suet. *Tib.* 54.

4 κοίνωσε, καὶ ἀναβὰς ἅμα τῇ ἕῳ ἐς τὸ παλάτιον
(τῆς γὰρ βουλῆς ἕδρα ἐν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ γενή-
σεσθαι ἔμελλε), τῷ τε Σεϊανῷ μηδέπω ἐς αὐτὸ
ἐσεληλυθότι περιέπεσε, καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ταραττ-
τόμενον ὅτι μηδέν οἱ ὁ Τιβέριος ἐπεστάλκει,
παρεμυθήσατο εἰπὼν ἰδίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ ὅτι
5 τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ τὴν δημαρχικὴν φέροι. καὶ
ὁ μὲν περιχαρὴς ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενόμενος ἐς τὸ βου-
λευτήριον ἐσεπήδησε· Μάκρων δὲ τοὺς μὲν δορυ-
φόρους τοὺς περί τε ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὸ συνέδριον
ὄντας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπέπεμψε, τήν τε
ἡγεμονίαν σφίσι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκφήνας καὶ γράμ-
ματα παρὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου γέρα τινὰ αὐτοῖς διδόντα
6 φέρειν φήσας, τοὺς δὲ δὴ νυκτοφύλακας ἀντ'
αὐτῶν περὶ τὸν ναὸν περιστήσας ἐσῆλθέ τε ἐς
αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῖς ὑπάτοις δοὺς
ἐξῆλθε πρὶν καὶ ὁτιοῦν ἀναγνωσθῆναι, αὐτῷ τε
τῷ Λάκωνι τἀνταῦθα φυλάττειν προστάξας αὐτὸς
ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, μὴ καὶ νεωτερισθείη τι,
ὥρμησε.

10 Κἀν τούτῳ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἀνεγνώσθη. ἦν δὲ
μακρά, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀθρόον κατὰ τοῦ Σεϊανοῦ εἶχεν,
ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἄλλο τι, εἶτα μέμψιν κατ'
αὐτοῦ βραχεῖαν, καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν ἕτερόν τι, καὶ
κατ' ἐκείνου ἄλλο· καὶ ἐπὶ τελευτῆς δύο τε βου-
λευτὰς τῶν ᾠκειωμένων οἱ κολασθῆναι καὶ αὐτὸν
2 ἐν φρουρᾷ γενέσθαι δεῖν ἔλεγεν. ἄντικρυς γὰρ
ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν ὁ Τιβέριος οὐ προσέταξεν, οὐχ
ὅτι οὐκ ἐβούλετο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐφοβήθη μὴ ταραχή
τις ἐκ τούτου γένηται· ὡς γοῦν οὐδὲ τὴν ὁδὸν
ἀσφαλῶς ποιήσασθαι δυνάμενος, τὸν ἕτερον τῶν
ὑπάτων μετεπέμψατο. τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ

Macro ascended the Palatine (for the senate was to sit in the temple of Apollo), and encountering Sejanus, who had not yet gone in, and perceiving that he was troubled because Tiberius had sent him no message, he encouraged him, telling him aside and in confidence that he was bringing him the tribunician power. Overjoyed at this announcement, Sejanus rushed into the senate-chamber. Macro now sent back to their camp the Pretorians that were guarding Sejanus and the senate, after revealing to them his authority and declaring that he bore a letter from Tiberius which bestowed rewards upon them. Then, after stationing the night-watch about the temple in their place, he went in, delivered the letter to the consuls, and came out again before a word was read. He then instructed Laco to keep guard there and himself hurried away to the camp to prevent any uprising. A.D. 31

In the meantime the letter was read. It was a long one, and contained no wholesale denunciation of Sejanus, but first some other matter, then a slight censure of his conduct, then something else, and after that some further objection to him; and at the close it said that two senators who were among his intimate associates must be punished and that he himself must be kept under guard. For Tiberius refrained from giving orders outright to put him to death, not because he did not wish to give such orders, but because he feared that some disturbance might result from such a course. At any rate, he pretended that he could not with safety even make the journey to Rome, and therefore summoned one of the consuls to him. Now the letter disclosed no

ἐδήλου, παρῆν δὲ καὶ ἀκοῦσαι ἐπ' αὐτῇ καὶ ἰδεῖν
3 πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα. πρότερον μὲν γάρ, πρὶν ἀναγιγνώσκεσθαι αὐτήν, ἐπαίνους τε αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν ληψομένου ἐποιοῦντο καὶ ἐπιβοήμασιν ἐχρῶντο, προλαμβάνοντες ὅσα ἤλπιζον, καὶ προσενδεικνύμενοί οἱ ὡς καὶ
4 αὐτοὶ αὐτὰ δώσοντες· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον εὑρίσκετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν τοὐναντίον ἢ προσεδόκων ἤκουον, ἔν τε ἀπορίᾳ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν κατηφείᾳ πολλῇ ἐγίγνοντο. καί τινες καὶ ἐξανέστησαν τῶν συγκαθημένων αὐτῷ· ὃν γὰρ πρόσθεν περὶ πολλοῦ φίλον ἔχειν ἐποιοῦντο, τούτῳ τότε οὐδὲ τῆς αὐτῆς συνεδρείας κοινωνεῖν
5 ἤθελον. κἀκ τούτου καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ δήμαρχοι περιέσχον αὐτόν, ὅπως μὴ συνταράξῃ τι ἐκπηδήσας· ὅπερ πάντως ἂν ἐπεποιήκει, εἰ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἀθρόῳ τινὶ ἀκούσματι ἐπέπληκτο. νῦν δὲ τό τε ἀεὶ ἀναγιγνωσκόμενον ὡς[1] καὶ κοῦφον καὶ μόνον ὂν παρορῶν, καὶ μάλιστα μὲν μηδὲν ἄλλο, εἰ δὲ μή, μήτι[2] γε καὶ ἀνήκεστόν τι ἐπεστάλθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐλπίζων, διετρίβη καὶ κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινε.

6 Κἀν τούτῳ προσκαλεσαμένου αὐτὸν τοῦ Ῥηγούλου οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, οὐχ ὅτι ὑπερεφρόνησεν (ἤδη γὰρ ἐτεταπείνωτο) ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀήθης τοῦ προστάττεσθαί τι ἦν. ὡς δὲ καὶ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον γε ἐκεῖνος ἐμβοήσας οἱ καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἅμα ἐκτείνας εἶπε "Σειανέ, δεῦρο ἐλθέ," ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτὸν αὐτὸ τοῦτο, "ἐμὲ καλεῖς;" ὀψὲ δ' οὖν

[1] ὡς Xiph., ὅπως M.
[2] μήτι R. Steph., μήτοι M, τοι Xiph.

more than this; but one could observe both by A.D. 31
sight and hearing many and various effects produced
by it. At first, before it was read, they had been
lauding Sejanus, thinking that he was about to receive
the tribunician power, and had kept cheering him,
anticipating the honours for which they hoped and
making it clear to him that they would concur in
bestowing them. When, however, nothing of the
sort appeared, but they heard again and again just
the reverse of what they had expected, they were
at first perplexed, and then thrown into deep
dejection. Some of those seated near him actually
rose up and left him; for they now no longer cared
to share the same seat with the man whom pre- v
viously they had prized having as their friend.
Then praetors and tribunes surrounded him, to
prevent his causing any disturbance by rushing out,
as he certainly would have done, if he had been
startled at the outset by hearing any general de-
nunciation. As it was, he paid no great heed to
the successive charges as they were read, thinking
each one a slight matter which stood alone, and
hoping that, at best, no further charge, or, in any
event, none that could not be disposed of, was
contained in the letter; so he let the time slip by
and remained in his seat.

Meanwhile Regulus summoned him to go forward, but he paid no heed, not out of contempt—for he had already been humbled—but because he was unaccustomed to having orders addressed to him. But when the consul, raising his voice and also pointing at him, called the second and the third time, "Sejanus, come here," he merely asked him, "Me? you are calling me?" At last, however, he

ποτε ἀναστάντι αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Λάκων ἐπεσελθὼν
7 προσέστη. καὶ τέλος διαναγνωσθείσης τῆς ἐπιστολῆς πάντες ἀπὸ μιᾶς γλώσσης καὶ κατεβόων αὐτοῦ καὶ δεινὰ ἐπέλεγον, οἱ μὲν ἠδικημένοι οἱ δὲ πεφοβημένοι, ἄλλοι τὴν φιλίαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπηλυγαζόμενοι, ἄλλοι τῇ μεταβολῇ αὐτοῦ ἐπι-
8 χαίροντες. οὐ μὴν οὔτε πάντας αὐτοὺς οὔτε περὶ τοῦ θανάτου τινὰ αὐτοῦ ὁ Ῥήγουλος ἐπεψήφισε, φοβηθεὶς μή τις ἐναντιωθῇ κἀκ τούτου καὶ ταραχθῇ τι (συχνοὺς γὰρ δὴ καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους εἶχεν)· ἀλλ' ἕνα τινὰ ἀνακρίνας καὶ σύμψηφον ὅπως δεθῇ λαβών, ἐξήγαγέ τε αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον μετά τε τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχόντων καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Λάκωνος κατήγαγεν.

11 Ἔνθα δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἄν τις τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσθένειαν κατεῖδεν, ὥστε μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς φυσᾶσθαι. ὃν γὰρ τῇ ἕῳ πάντες ὡς καὶ κρείττω σφῶν ὄντα ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον παρέπεμψαν, τοῦτον τότε ἐς τὸ οἴκημα ὡς μηδενὸς βελτίω κατέσυρον, καὶ ὃν στεφάνων πρότερον πολλῶν
2 ἠξίουν, τούτῳ τότε δεσμὰ περιέθεσαν· ὃν δὲ ἐδορυφόρουν ὡς δεσπότην, τοῦτον ἐφρούρουν ὡς δραπέτην καὶ ἀπεκάλυπτον ἐπικαλυπτόμενον, καὶ ὃν τῷ περιπορφύρῳ ἱματίῳ ἐκεκοσμήκεσαν, τοῦτον[1] ἐπὶ κόρρης ἔπαιον, ὅν τε[2] προσεκύνουν ᾧ τε ὡς θεῷ ἔθυον, τοῦτον θανατώσοντες ἦγον.
3 καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ δῆμος προσπίπτων πολλὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπολωλόσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπεβόα, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλπισθεῖσιν ἐπέσκωπτε. τάς τε

[1] τοῦτον added by Bs.

stood up, and Laco, who had now returned, took his stand beside him. When finally the reading of the letter was finished, all with one voice denounced and threatened him, some because they had been wronged, others through fear, some to conceal their friendship for him, and still others out of joy at his downfall. Regulus did not put the vote to all the senators nor propose to any the death penalty, fearing opposition from some quarter and a disturbance in consequence; for Sejanus had numerous relatives and friends. He merely asked a single senator if he should not be imprisoned, and when he got an affirmative answer, he led Sejanus out of the senate, and together with the other magistrates and Laco took him down to the prison. A.D. 31

Thereupon one might have witnessed such a surpassing proof of human frailty as to prevent one's ever again being puffed up with conceit. For the man whom at dawn they had escorted to the senate-hall as a superior being, they were now dragging to prison as if no better than the worst; on him whom they had previously thought worthy of many crowns, they now laid bonds; him whom they were wont to protect as a master, they now guarded like a runaway slave, uncovering his head when he would fain cover it; him whom they had adorned with the purple-bordered toga, they struck in the face; and him whom they were wont to adore and worship with sacrifices as a god, they were now leading to execution. The populace also assailed him, shouting many reproaches at him for the lives he had taken and many jeers for the hopes he had cherished.

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[2] τε added by R. Steph.

εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ πάσας κατέβαλλον καὶ κατέκοπτον
καὶ κατέσυρον ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον αἰκιζόμενοι·
καὶ οὕτω θεατὴς ὧν πείσεσθαι ἔμελλεν ἐγίγνετο.
4 τότε μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐνεβλήθη·
ὕστερον δ' οὐ πολλῷ, ἀλλ' αὐθημερὸν ἡ γερουσία
πλησίον τοῦ οἰκήματος ἐν τῷ Ὁμονοείῳ, ἐπειδὴ
τά τε τοῦ δήμου τοιαῦτα ὄντα ᾔσθετο καὶ τῶν
δορυφόρων οὐδένα ἑώρα, ἀθροισθεῖσα θάνατον
5 αὐτοῦ κατεψηφίσατο. καὶ οὕτω δικαιωθεὶς κατά
τε τῶν ἀναβασμῶν ἐρρίφη, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ ὅμιλος
τρισὶν ὅλαις ἡμέραις ἐλυμήνατο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνέβαλε. τά τε παιδία αὐτοῦ
κατὰ δόγμα ἀπέθανε, τῆς κόρης, ἣν τῷ τοῦ
Κλαυδίου υἱεῖ ἠγγυήκει,[1] προδιαφθαρείσης ὑπὸ
τοῦ δημίου, ὡς οὐχ ὅσιον ὂν παρθενευομένην
6 τινὰ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ διολέσθαι. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ
Ἀπικᾶτα[2] οὐ κατεψηφίσθη μέν, μαθοῦσα δὲ ὅτι
τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς τέθνηκε, καί σφων τὰ σώματα
ἐν τοῖς ἀναβασμοῖς ἰδοῦσα, ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ ἐς
βιβλίον γράψασα περὶ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Δρούσου
κατά τε τῆς Λιουίλλης τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, δι'
ἥνπερ που καὶ αὐτὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ προσεκεκρούκει
ὥστε μηκέτι συνοικεῖν, τὸ μὲν τῷ Τιβερίῳ
7 ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὴ δ' ἑαυτὴν διεχρήσατο. καὶ οὕτως
ὁ Τιβέριος ἐντυχὼν τῷ βιβλίῳ, καὶ διελέγξας
τὰ γεγραμμένα, τούς τε ἄλλους πάντας καὶ τὴν
Λιουίλλαν ἀπέκτεινεν. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα ὅτι ἐκεῖνος
μὲν αὐτῆς διὰ τὴν μητέρα τὴν Ἀντωνίαν ἐφεί-
σατο, αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ Ἀντωνία ἑκοῦσα λιμῷ τὴν
θυγατέρα ἐξώλεσε.

[1] ἠγγυήκει St., ἐνεγεγυήκει M.
[2] Ἀπικᾶτα Bk., ἀπεικάτα M.

They hurled down, beat down, and dragged down all his images, as though they were thereby treating the man himself with contumely, and he thus became a spectator of what he was destined to suffer. For the moment, it is true, he was merely cast into prison; but a little later, in fact that very day, the senate assembled in the temple of Concord not far from the jail, when they saw the attitude of the populace and that none of the Pretorians was about, and condemned him to death. By their order he was executed and his body cast down the Stairway, where the rabble abused it for three whole days and afterwards threw it into the river. His children also were put to death by decree, the girl (whom he had betrothed to the son of Claudius) having been first outraged by the public executioner on the principle that it was unlawful for a virgin to be put to death in the prison. His wife Apicata was not condemned, to be sure, but on learning that her children were dead, and after seeing their bodies on the Stairway, she withdrew and composed a statement about the death of Drusus, directed against Livilla, his wife, who had been the cause of a quarrel between herself and her husband, resulting in their separation; then, after sending this document to Tiberius, she committed suicide. It was in this way that Tiberius came to read her statement; and when he had obtained proof of the information given, he put to death Livilla and all the others therein mentioned. I have, indeed, heard that he spared Livilla out of regard for her mother Antonia, and that Antonia herself of her own accord killed her daughter by starving her. These events, however, were later. A.D. 31

12 Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ θόρυβος πολὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει συνηνέχθη. ὅ τε γὰρ δῆμος εἴ πού τινα τῶν μέγα παρὰ τῷ Σεϊανῷ δυνηθέντων καὶ δι' αὐτὸν ὑβρισάντων τι εἶδεν, ἐφό-
2 νευε· καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἀγανακτοῦντες ὅτι αὐτοί τε ἐς τὴν τοῦ Σεϊανοῦ εὔνοιαν ὑπωπτεύθησαν καὶ οἱ νυκτοφύλακές σφων ἐς τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πίστιν προετιμήθησαν, ἐμπρήσεις τε καὶ ἁρπαγὰς ἐποιοῦντο, καίτοι πάντων τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὄντων τὸ ἄστυ πᾶν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Τιβερίου
3 ἐντολῆς φυλαττόντων. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἡ βουλὴ ἡσύχαζεν, ἀλλ' οἵ τε τὸν Σεϊανὸν τεθεραπευκότες δεινῶς δέει τῆς τιμωρίας ἐταράσσοντο, καὶ οἱ κατηγορηκότες ἢ καὶ καταμεμαρτυρηκότες τινῶν διὰ φόβου, ὑποψίᾳ[1] τοῦ καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνον ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τὸν Τιβέριον αὐτοὺς διεφθάρθαι, ἐγίγνοντο. ὀλίγον τε πάνυ τὸ θαρσοῦν ἦν, ὅσον ἔξω τε τούτων καθειστήκει καὶ τὸν Τιβέριον ἠπιώτερον
4 γενήσεσθαι προσεδόκα. τά τε γὰρ συμβεβηκότα σφίσιν ἐς τὸν ἀπολωλότα, ὥσπερ που φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι, ἔτρεπον, καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἢ οὐδενὸς ἢ ὀλίγων[2] ᾐτιῶντο· τὰ γὰρ πλείονα τὰ μὲν ἠγνοηκέναι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἄκοντα κατηναγκάσθαι πρᾶξαι ἔλεγον. ἰδίᾳ μὲν δὴ ὡς ἕκαστοι οὕτω διετίθεντο, κοινῇ δὲ δὴ ἐψηφίσαντο, ὡς καὶ δεσποτείας τινὸς ἀπηλλαγμένοι, μήτε πένθος τινὰ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι, καὶ Ἐλευθερίας ἄγαλμα ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν
5 ἀνατεθῆναι, ἑορτήν τε διά τε τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ διὰ τῶν ἱερέων ἁπάντων, ὃ μηπώποτε ἐγεγόνει, ἀχθῆναι, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ ἐτελεύτησε καὶ

[1] ὑποψίᾳ Rk., ὑποψίαν M.
[2] ὀλίγων R. Steph., ὀλίγον M.

BOOK LVIII

At the time of our narrative a great uproar took place in the city; for the populace slew anyone it saw of those who had possessed great influence with Sejanus and had committed acts of insolence to please him. The soldiers, too, angered because they had been suspected of friendliness for Sejanus and because the night-watch had been preferred to them for loyalty to the emperor, proceeded to burn and plunder, despite the fact that all the officials were guarding the whole city in accordance with Tiberius' command. Moreover, not even the senate remained quiet; but those of its members who had paid court to Sejanus were greatly disturbed by their fear of vengeance; and those who had accused or borne witness against others were filled with terror, because of the prevailing suspicion that their victims had been destroyed in the interest of Sejanus rather than of Tiberius. Very small, indeed, was the courageous element that remained free from these terrors and expected that Tiberius would become milder. For, as usually happens, they laid the responsibility for their previous misfortunes upon the man who had perished, and charged the emperor with few or none of them; as for most of these things, they said he had either been ignorant of them or had been forced to do them against his will. Privately this was the attitude of the various groups; but publicly they voted, as if they had been freed from a tyranny, not to hold any mourning over the deceased and to have a statue of Liberty erected in the Forum; also a festival was to be held under the auspices of all the magistrates and priests, a thing that had never before happened; and the day on which Sejanus had died was to be celebrated by annual A.D. 31

ἵππων ἀγῶσι καὶ θηρίων σφαγαῖς ἐτησίοις διά τε τῶν ἐς τὰς τέσσαρας ἱερωσύνας τελούντων καὶ διὰ τῶν τοῦ Αὐγούστου θιασωτῶν ἀγάλλεσθαι,[1]
6 ὃ οὐδέποτε ἐπεποίητο. ὃν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ταῖς τε ὑπερβολαῖς καὶ ταῖς καινότησι τῶν τιμῶν πρὸς τὸν ὄλεθρον προήγαγον, κατὰ τούτου καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ξένα τινὰ ἐψηφίζοντο. οὕτω γάρ τοι σαφῶς ἠπίσταντο ὅτι ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνων μάλιστα ἐξεφρόνησεν, ὥστ᾽ ἀπαγορεῦσαι παραχρῆμα διαρρήδην μήτε τιμὰς μηδενὶ ὑπερόγκους δίδοσθαι μήτε τοὺς ὅρκους ἐπ᾽ ἄλλου τινὸς πλὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος
7 ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ μέντοι ταῦθ᾽ οὕτω, καθάπερ ἐκ θείας τινὸς ἐπιπνοίας,[2] ψηφισάμενοι καὶ τὸν Μάκρωνα καὶ τὸν Λάκωνα κολακεύειν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἤρξαντο· χρήματά τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς πολλὰ καὶ τιμάς, Λάκωνι μὲν τὰς τῶν τεταμιευκότων Μάκρωνι δὲ τὰς τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων, ἔδωκαν, καὶ αὐτοῖς[3] καὶ συνθεᾶσθαί σφισι καὶ ἱματίῳ περιπορφύρῳ ἐν ταῖς εὐκταίαις πανηγύρεσι χρῆ-
8 σθαι ἐπέτρεψαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐδέξαντο αὐτά· τὸ γὰρ παράδειγμά σφας ὑπόγυον ὂν ἐθορύβει. οὐ μὴν οὐδ᾽ ὁ Τιβέριος προσήκατό τι, ἄλλων τ᾽[4] αὐτῷ πολλῶν ψηφισθέντων, καὶ ὅπως αὐτός τε πατὴρ τῆς πατρίδος τότε γε ἄρξηται ὀνομάζεσθαι, καὶ τὰ γενέθλια αὐτῷ δέκα τε τῶν ἵππων ἁμίλλαις καὶ ἑστιάσει τῆς γερουσίας

[1] ἀγάλλεσθαι Xiph., ἀγγέλλεσθαι M.
[2] ἐπιπνοίας Reim., ἐπινοίας M.
[3] αὐτοῖς Leuncl., αὐτῷ M.
[4] τ᾽ supplied by Pflugk.

horse-races and wild-beast-hunts under the direction of the members of the four priesthoods[1] and of the *Sodales Augustales*,[2] another thing that had never before been done. Thus, to celebrate the overthrow of the man whom they had led to his destruction by the excessive and novel honours bestowed upon him, they voted observances that were unknown even in honour of the gods. So clearly, indeed, did they comprehend that it was chiefly these honours that had bereft him of his senses, that they at once expressly forbade the granting of excessive honours to anybody and likewise the taking of oaths in the name of anyone besides the emperor. Nevertheless, though they passed such votes, as if under some divine inspiration, they began shortly afterward to fawn upon Macro and Laco. They granted them large sums of money, and also gave Laco the rank of an ex-quaestor and Macro that of an ex-praetor; they furthermore allowed them to witness the games in their company and to wear the purple-bordered toga at the votive festivals. The two men, however, did not accept these honours, for the example still so fresh in their minds served as a deterrent. Nor did Tiberius take any of the many honours that were voted him, chief among which was the proposal that he should begin to be termed Father of his Country now, at any rate,[3] and also one that his birthday should be marked by ten horse-races and a banquet of the senators. On the contrary, he gave notice anew that no one should introduce any such motion. A.D. 31

[1] Cf. liii. 1, 4. [2] Cf. lvi. 46, 1.
[3] Cf. lvii. 8, 1.

τιμῷτο· ἀλλὰ καὶ προηγόρευσεν αὖθις μηδένα μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ἐσηγεῖσθαι.

13 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐγίγνετο, ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος τέως μὲν ἐν δέει μεγάλῳ καθειστήκει μὴ ὁ Σεϊανὸς κατασχὼν αὐτὴν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπιπλεύσῃ, καὶ πλοῖα παρεσκευάσατο ἵνα, ἄν τι τοιοῦτο συμβῇ, διαφύγῃ· τῷ τε Μάκρωνι, ὥς τινές φασιν, ἐνετείλατο ὅπως, ἄν τι παρακινήσῃ, τὸν Δροῦσον ἔς τε τὴν βουλὴν καὶ ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐσαγάγῃ καὶ
2 αὐτοκράτορα ἀποδείξῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθεν αὐτὸν ἀπολωλότα, ἔχαιρεν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν τὴν πεμφθεῖσαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ προσεδέξατο, καίπερ πολλῶν μὲν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς πολλῶν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἱππέων τοῦ τε
3 πλήθους, ὥσπερ καὶ πρίν, σταλέντων· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ὕπατον τὸν Ῥήγουλον, τά τε αὐτοῦ ἀεὶ φρονήσαντα καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τῆς ἐς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ κομιδῆς, ὥσπερ ἐπεστάλκει, ἐλθόντα, ἀπεώσατο.

14 Σεϊανὸς μὲν δὴ μέγιστον τῶν τε πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτόν, πλὴν Πλαυτιανοῦ, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ταύτην λαβόντων ἰσχύσας οὕτως ἀπήλλαξεν, οἱ δὲ δὴ συγγενεῖς οἵ τε ἑταῖροι αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες οἵ τι αὐτὸν κολακεύσαντες καὶ οἱ τὰς
2 τιμὰς αὐτῷ ἐσηγησάμενοι ἐκρίνοντο· καὶ ἐκείνων τε οἱ πλείους ἡλίσκοντο ἐφ' οἷς πρότερον ἐφθονοῦντο, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι κατεδίκαζόν σφων ἐφ' οἷς πρότερον ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ συχνοὶ καὶ τῶν κεκριμένων τε ἐπί τισι καὶ ἀφειμένων καὶ κατηγορήθησαν αὖθις καὶ ἑάλωσαν ὡς καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου
3 χάριν τότε σωθέντες. οὕτως, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο

BOOK LVIII

These were the events that were taking place in the city. A.D. 31

Tiberius for a time had been in great fear that Sejanus would occupy the city and sail against him, and so he had got ships in readiness in order to escape if anything of the sort came to pass; he had also commanded Macro, as some report, to bring Drusus before the senate and people, in the event of any uprising, and declare him emperor. When, now, he learned that Sejanus was dead, he rejoiced, as was natural, but he would not receive the embassy that was sent to congratulate him, though many members of the senate and many of the knights and the populace had been sent out, as before. Indeed, he even rebuffed the consul Regulus, who had always been devoted to his interests and had come in response to the emperor's own command, in order to ensure the safety of his journey to the city.

Thus perished Sejanus, after attaining to greater power than any of those who held this position[1] either before or after him, with the exception of Plautianus.[2] Moreover, his relatives, his associates, and all the rest who had paid court to him and had proposed the granting of honours to him were brought to trial. The majority of them were convicted for the acts that had previously made them objects of envy; and their fellow-citizens condemned them for the measures which they themselves had previously voted. Many men who had been tried on various charges and acquitted were again accused and now convicted, on the ground that they had been saved before as a favour to the man now fallen. Accord-

[1] Prefect of the Pretorian guard.
[2] Cf. lxxv. 14 ff.

ἔγκλημά τῳ ἐπεφέρετο, ἀλλ' αὐτό γε[1] τότε
ἐξήρκει οἱ πρὸς τὴν τιμωρίαν ὅτι φίλος τοῦ
Σεϊανοῦ ἐγεγόνει, καθάπερ οὐ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Τι-
βερίου φιλήσαντος αὐτὸν καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνον καὶ τῶν
4 ἄλλων οὕτω σπουδασάντων. ἐμήνυον δὲ δὴ
ταῦτα ἄλλοι τε καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ μάλιστα τὸν Σεϊανὸν
θεραπεύοντες· οἷα γὰρ ἀκριβῶς τοὺς ὁμοίους
σφίσιν εἰδότες, οὐδὲν πρᾶγμα εἶχον οὔτ' ἀναζη-
τοῦντες αὐτοὺς οὔτε ἐξελέγχοντες. καὶ οἱ μέν,
ὡς σωθησόμενοί τε διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τιμὰς καὶ χρή-
ματα προσληψόμενοι, οἱ μὲν κατηγόρουν τινῶν
οἱ δὲ κατεμαρτύρουν, συνέβη δὲ αὐτοῖς μηδενὸς
5 ὧν ἤλπιζον τυχεῖν· τοῖς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐγκλήμασιν
οἷς τοὺς ἄλλους μετῄεσαν ἐνεχόμενοι, τὸ μέν τι
δι' ἐκεῖνα τὸ δὲ καὶ ὡς προδωσέταιροι, προσ-
15 απώλλυντο. τῶν οὖν αἰτιαθέντων συχνοὶ μὲν καὶ
κατηγορήθησαν παρόντες καὶ ἀπελογήσαντο, καὶ
παρρησίᾳ γε εἰσὶν οἳ μεγάλῃ ἐχρήσαντο· οἱ δὲ δὴ
πλείους αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς πρὶν ἁλῶναι διέφθειραν.
2 ἐποίουν δὲ τοῦτο μάλιστα μὲν τοῦ[2] μήτε τὴν
ὕβριν μήτε τὴν αἰκίαν φέρειν (πάντες γὰρ οἵ
τινα τοιαύτην αἰτίαν λαβόντες, οὐχ ὅπως ἱππῆς
ἀλλὰ καὶ βουλευταί, οὐδ' ὅπως ἄνδρες ἀλλὰ καὶ
γυναῖκες, ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον συνεωθοῦντο, καὶ
3 καταψηφισθέντες οἱ μὲν ἐκεῖ ἐκολάζοντο, οἱ δὲ
καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων ἢ
καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων κατεκρημνίζοντο, καὶ ἔς τε τὴν
ἀγορὰν τὰ σώματα ἁπάντων αὐτῶν ἐρρίπτετο
καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνεβάλλετο), ἤδη
δὲ καὶ ὅπως οἱ παῖδες τῶν οὐσιῶν αὐτοὺς κλη-
4 ρονομῶσιν· ὀλίγαι γὰρ πάνυ τῶν ἐθελοντηδὸν

[1] γε H. Steph., τε M.

ingly, if no other complaint could be brought against a person, the very fact that he had been a friend of Sejanus sufficed to bring punishment upon him—as if, forsooth, Tiberius himself had not been fond of him and thereby caused others to display such zeal in his behalf. Among those who gave information of this sort were the very men who had been foremost in paying court to Sejanus; for, inasmuch as they had accurate knowledge of those who were in the same position as themselves, they had no difficulty either in seeking them out or in securing their conviction. So these men, expecting to save themselves by this procedure and to obtain money and honours besides, were accusing others or bearing witness against them; but, as it turned out, they realized none of their hopes. For, as they were liable themselves to the same charges on which they were prosecuting the others, they perished also, partly for this very reason and partly as betrayers of their friends. Of those against whom charges were brought, many were present to hear their accusation and make their defence, and some expressed their minds very freely in so doing; but the majority made away with themselves before their conviction. They did this chiefly to avoid suffering insult and outrage. For all who incurred any such charge, senators as well as knights, and women as well as men, were crowded together in the prison, and upon being condemned either paid the penalty there or were hurled down from the Capitol by the tribunes or even by the consuls, after which the bodies of all of them were cast into the Forum and later thrown into the river. But their object was partly that A.D. 31

[2] τοῦ Bs., τῷ M.

πρὸ τῆς δίκης τελευτώντων ἐδημεύοντο, προκαλουμένου διὰ τούτου τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῦ Τιβερίου αὐτοέντας γίγνεσθαι, ἵνα μὴ αὐτός σφας ἀποκτείνειν δοκῇ, ὥσπερ οὐ πολλῷ δεινότερον ὂν αὐτοχειρίᾳ τινὰ ἀποθανεῖν ἀναγκάσαι τοῦ τῷ
16 δημίῳ αὐτὸν παραδοῦναι. αἱ δ' οὖν πλεῖσται τῶν οὐχ οὕτως ἀποθανόντων οὐσίαι ἐδημοσιοῦντο, βραχέος τινὸς ἢ καὶ μηδενὸς τοῖς κατηγορήσασιν αὐτῶν διδομένου. καὶ γὰρ τὰ χρήματα δι' ἀκρι-
2 βείας ἤδη πολὺ[1] μᾶλλον ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τέλος τι διακοσιοστὴν ἔχον ἑκατοστὴν ἤγαγε, καὶ ἐκληρονόμει παντὸς τοῦ καταλειφθέντος αὐτῷ· κατέλειπον[2] δὲ δὴ πάντες ὀλίγου καὶ οἱ ἑαυτοὺς ἀναχρώμενοι, ὥσπερ καὶ τῷ Σεϊανῷ ὅτε ἔζη.

3 Τῇ δ' αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ διανοίᾳ ᾗ τὰ τῶν ἑκόντως ἀποθνησκόντων χρήματα οὐκ ἀφῃρεῖτο, καὶ τὰς ἐσαγγελίας πάσας ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν ἐσῆγεν, ὅπως αὐτός τε ἔξω αἰτίας, ὥς γε καὶ ἐδόκει, ᾖ, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ αὐτὴ ἑαυτῆς ὡς καὶ ἀδικούσης[3] τι
4 καταψηφίζηται. ὅθεν καὶ πάνυ ἀκριβῶς ἔμαθον, αὐτοὶ δι' ἑαυτῶν ἀπολλύμενοι, ὅτι καὶ τὰ πρότερον ἐκεῖνα οὐ τοῦ Σεϊανοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἔργα ἦν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον οἱ κατηγορήσαντές τινων ἐκρίνοντο ἢ καὶ οἱ καταμαρτυρήσαντες κατεμαρτυροῦντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ κατεψηφισμένοι τινῶν

[1] ἤδη πολὺ St., ᾖ δεῖπνα M.
[2] κατέλειπον Bk., κατέλιπον M.
[3] ἀδικούσης Bk., διαδικούσης M.

their children might inherit their property, since very few estates of such as voluntarily died before their trial were confiscated, Tiberius in this way inviting men to become their own murderers, so that he might avoid the reputation of having killed them—just as if it were not far more dreadful to compel a man to die by his own hand than to deliver him to the executioner. Most of the estates of those who failed to die in this manner were confiscated, only a little or even nothing at all being given to their accusers; for Tiberius was now inclined to be far more strict in the matter of money. For this reason he increased to one per cent. a certain tax which had been only one-half of one per cent. and was accepting every inheritance that was left to him; and for that matter, nearly everybody left him something, even those who made away with themselves, as they had also done to Sejanus while he was alive. A.D. 31

Furthermore, with the same purpose that had prompted him not to take away the wealth of those who perished voluntarily, Tiberius caused all accusations to be lodged with the senate, so that he should be free from blame himself (as he imagined) and the senate should pass sentence upon itself as guilty of wrong-doing. Hence people learned only too clearly, now that they were perishing at one another's hands, that their former woes were the work of Tiberius quite as much as the work of Sejanus. For it happened not only that those who had accused others were brought to trial and those who had testified against others now found others testifying against them, but also that those who had condemned others were convicted in their turn. So

5 ἀνθηλίσκοντο. οὕτως οὔθ' ὁ Τιβέριός τινων ἐφείδετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς κατ' ἀλλήλων ἀπεχρῆτο, οὔτ' ἄλλον βέβαιον φίλον οὐδένα,[1] ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ καὶ τὸ ἀδικοῦν καὶ τὸ ἀναμάρτητον τό τε ὑποπτεῦόν τι καὶ τὸ ἀδεὲς πρὸς τὴν τῶν Σεϊανῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀνάκρισιν ἐγίγνετο.
6 ἔδοξε μὲν γάρ τινα ἀμνηστίαν αὐτῶν ὀψέ ποτε ἐσηγήσασθαι· καὶ γὰρ πενθεῖν τοῖς βουλομένοις αὐτὸν ἐπέτρεψε, προσαπειπὼν μηδὲ[2] ἐφ' ἑτέρου τινὸς κωλύεσθαί τινα τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ὃ πολλάκις
7 ἐψηφίζετο· οὐ μὴν καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐβεβαίωσεν αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ὀλίγον διαλιπὼν ἔπειτα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Σεϊανῷ καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέροις ἀθεμίτοις ἐγκλήμασι συχνοὺς ἐκόλασεν, ᾐσχυγκέναι τε καὶ ἀπεκτονέναι καὶ τὰς συγγενεστάτας σφίσιν αἰτιαθέντας.

17 Τοιαύτης δ' οὖν τότε τῆς καταστάσεως οὔσης, καὶ μηδ' ἀπαρνήσασθαί τινος δυναμένου τὸ μὴ οὐ καὶ τῶν σαρκῶν ἂν[3] αὐτοῦ ἡδέως ἐμφαγεῖν, γελοιότατον πρᾶγμα τῷ ἑξῆς ἔτει, ᾧ Γναῖος Δομίτιος καὶ Κάμιλλος Σκριβωνιανὸς ὑπάτευσαν,
2 ἐγένετο. νομιζομένου γὰρ συχνὸν ἤδη χρόνον μηκέτι κατὰ ἄνδρα τὴν βουλὴν ἐν τῇ νουμηνίᾳ ὀμνύναι, ἀλλ' ἑνός, ὥσπερ εἴρηταί μοι, προομνύντος[4] καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς συνεπαινεῖν, οὐκ ἐποίησαν αὐτό, ἀλλὰ αὐτεπάγγελτοι, μηδενός σφας ἀναγκάσαντος, ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος ἐπιστώθησαν ὥσπερ τι παρὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον

[1] A corrupt passage. Bs. suggests ἄλλως βέβαιον φίλον οὐδένα <οὐδεὶς εἶχεν>, followed in the translation.
[2] μηδὲ Reim., μηδένι M cod. Peir.
[3] ἂν cod. Peir., om. M.
[4] προομνύντος H. Steph., προσομνύντος M.

it was that neither Tiberius spared anyone, but employed all the citizens without exception against one another, nor, for that matter, could anybody rely upon the loyalty of any friend; but the guilty and the innocent, the timorous and the fearless, stood on the same footing when face to face with the inquiry into the charges involving the acts of Sejanus. For, although he decided after a long time to propose a sort of amnesty for these offences, in that he permitted all those who so desired to go into mourning for Sejanus (forbidding all interference with such acts in the case of any other person also, though decrees to this effect were frequently passed), yet he did not live up to this edict in fact, but after a brief interval punished a good many for so honouring Sejanus and on sundry lawless charges, the accusation generally being that they had outraged and murdered their nearest kinswomen. A.D. 31

When things had now come to this pass, and there was not a man that could deny that he would be glad to feast on the emperor's flesh, a most ridiculous proceeding took place in the following year, when Gnaeus Domitius and Camillus Scribonianus became consuls. It had long since ceased to be the custom for the members of the senate to take the oath on New Year's day each for himself; instead, one of their number, as has already been stated,[1] would take the oath for them all and the rest would then express their acquiescence. On this occasion, however, they did not do so, but of their own motion, without any compulsion, they pledged themselves separately and individually, as if this would make A.D. 32

[1] Evidently in a passage now lost, between lvii. 17, 8, and lviii. 7, 2.

3 εὐορκήσοντες. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἔτη οὐδ' ὀμνύντα τινὰ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ φέροντα, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἠνέσχετο· τότε δὲ καὶ ἕτερόν τι γελοιότερον ἐγένετο. προχειρίσασθαί τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ὅσους ἂν ἐθελήσῃ σφῶν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἴκοσιν, οὓς ἂν ὁ κλῆρος ἀποφήνῃ, φρουροῖς, ὁσάκις ἂν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσίῃ,[1]
4 ξιφίδια ἔχουσι χρῆσθαι ἐψηφίσαντο. τῶν τε γὰρ ἔξω πρὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν τηρουμένων καὶ εἴσω μηδενὸς ἰδιώτου ἐσιόντος, δι' οὐδένα δῆλον ὅτι ἄλλον, ἀλλὰ δι' ἑαυτοὺς μόνους ὡς καὶ πολεμίους οἱ ὄντας[2] τὴν φρουρὰν αὐτῷ
18 δοθῆναι ἔγνωσαν. ὁ δ' οὖν Τιβέριος ἐπῄνεσε μὲν αὐτούς, καὶ χάριν δῆθεν τῆς εὐνοίας σφίσιν ἔγνω, τὸ δὲ δὴ πρᾶγμα ὡς καὶ ἄηθες διεκρούσατο· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως εὐήθης ἦν ὥστ' αὐτοῖς γε ἐκείνοις, οὓς τε ἐμίσει καὶ ὑφ' ὧν ἐμισεῖτο, ξίφη δοῦναι.
2 ἀμέλει καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τούτων προσυποτοπήσας σφᾶς (πᾶν γὰρ ὅ τι ἄν τις παρὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐπὶ κολακείᾳ ποιῇ ὑποπτεύεται) τοῖς μὲν ἐκείνων ψηφίσμασι μακρὰ χαίρειν ἔφρασε, τοὺς δὲ δορυφόρους καὶ λόγοις καὶ χρήμασι, καίπερ τὰ τοῦ Σεϊανοῦ φρονήσαντας εἰδώς, ἐτίμησεν, ἵνα αὐτοῖς
3 προθυμοτέροις κατ' αὐτῶν χρῆσθαι ἔχῃ. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ὅτε καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς αὖθις ἐπῄνεσεν, ἐπεί σφισιν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου τὸ ἀργύριον δοθῆναι ἐψηφίσαντο· οὕτω δὲ δὴ ἀκριβῶς τοὺς μὲν τῷ

[1] ἐσίῃ cod. Peir., ἐσῃιηι M.
[2] οἱ ὄντας cod. Peir., ἐσιόντας M.

[1] Cf. lvii. 8, 4.

them any more regardful of their oath. It should be explained that previously for many years the emperor objected to anyone's swearing at all to support his official acts, as I have said.[1] At this same time occurred also another incident, still more ridiculous than the other: they voted that Tiberius should select as many of their number as he liked and should then employ twenty of these, to be chosen by lot and armed with daggers, as guards whenever he entered the senate-chamber. Now, inasmuch as the soldiers were on guard outside the building and no private citizen could come inside, their resolution that a guard should be given him was evidently directed against no one but themselves, thus indicating that they were his enemies. Tiberius, of course, commended them and made a show of thanking them for their good will, but he rejected their offer as being without precedent; for he was not so simple as to give swords to the very men whom he hated and by whom he was hated. At any rate, as a result of these very measures he began to grow more suspicious of them (for every act of insincerity that one undertakes for the purpose of flattery is inevitably suspected), and dismissing utterly from his thoughts all their decrees, he bestowed honours both in words and in money upon the Pretorians, in spite of his knowledge that they had been on the side of Sejanus, in order that he might find them more zealous in his service against the senators. There was another time, to be sure, that he commended the senators; this was when they voted that the guards' pay should be given them from the public treasury. Thus, in a most effective manner, he kept deceiving the one A.D. 32

λόγῳ ἀντεξηπάτα τοὺς δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ προσηταιρίζετο, ὥστε καὶ Ἰούνιον[1] Γαλλίωνα,[2] θέαν τοῖς διαστρατευσαμένοις αὐτῶν[3] ἐν τῇ τῶν ἱππέων ἕδρᾳ
4 δίδοσθαι ἐσηγησάμενον, μὴ μόνον φυγαδεῦσαι, αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπικληθέντα ὅτι σφᾶς ἀναπείθειν ἐδόκει τῷ κοινῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἑαυτῷ εὐνοεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔγνω αὐτὸν ἐς Λέσβον ἀπαίρειν, τῆς τε ἐκεῖ ἀσφαλοῦς εὐδαιμονίας ἀφελέσθαι καὶ ἐς φυλακὴν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ὥσπερ ποτὲ τὸν Γάλλον,
5 παραδοῦναι. καὶ ἵνα γε ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἑκατέρους πείσῃ ὅπως περὶ ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν φρονοίη, ᾐτήσατο παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, ἀρκεῖν οἱ φήσας,[4] τόν τε Μάκρωνα καί τινας[5] χιλιάρχους ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσάγεσθαι. οὐ γάρ που καὶ ἐδεῖτό[6] τι αὐτῶν, ὅς γε οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἔτι ἐσελθεῖν ἐνενόει, ἀλλὰ τό τε ἐκείνων μῖσος καὶ τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν εὔνοιαν ἐνδείξασθαί σφισιν
6 ἠθέλησε. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ βουλευταὶ ὡμολόγησαν· τῷ γοῦν[7] δόγματι προσενέγραψαν ὥστε ἔρευναν σφων συνιόντων, μὴ καὶ ξιφίδιόν τις ὑπὸ μάλης ἔχῃ, γίγνεσθαι.

19 Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῷ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει ἐγνώσθη, τότε δὲ ἐφείσατο μὲν καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν καίτοι τῷ Σεϊανῷ ᾠκειωμένων, ἐφείσατο δὲ καὶ Λουκίου Καισιανοῦ[8] στρατηγοῦ Μάρκου τε Τερεντίου

[1] Ἰούνιον R. Steph., οὐίνιον M.
[2] Γαλλίωνα Xyl., γαλλῆνον γαλλίωνα M, γαλλίνον cod. Peir.
[3] αὐτῶν R. Steph., αὐτὸν M cod. Peir.
[4] φήσας supplied by Capps; cf. lx. 10, 2 (ἀρκοῦν εἶναι φήσας).
[5] τινας supplied by Rk.; cf. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 15 (*utque Macro praefectus tribunorumque et centurionum pauci secum introirent, quotiens curiam ingrederetur, petivit*).

group by his words while winning over the others by his deeds. For example, when Junius Gallio proposed that the Pretorians who had finished their term of service should be given the privilege of witnessing the games from the seats of the knights, he not only banished him, the specific charge being that he was apparently trying to induce the guards to be loyal to the State rather than to the emperor, but in addition, when he learned that Gallio was setting sail for Lesbos, he deprived him of a safe and comfortable existence there and delivered him up to the custody of the magistrates, as he had once done with Gallus. And in order to convince the two parties still more of his attitude toward each of them, he not long afterward asked the senate that Macro and a certain number of military tribunes should escort him into the senate-chamber, saying that this guard would suffice. He had no need of them, of course, for he had no idea of ever entering the city again; but he wished to show them his hatred of them and his good-will toward the soldiers of the guard. And the senators themselves acknowledged this situation; in any event, they attached to the decree a clause providing that they should be searched on entering, to make sure that none had a dagger hidden beneath his arm. This resolution was passed in the following year. A.D. 32

At the time in question he spared, among others who had been intimate with Sejanus, Lucius Caesianus, a praetor, and Marcus Terentius, a knight.

[6] ἐδεῖτό R. Steph., ἐδέετό M. [7] γοῦν Bk., δ' οὖν M.

[8] Καισιανοῦ Bs., καὶ σιανοῦ M, κασιανοῦ ἐφείσατο λουκίου τε σιανοῦ Xiph.

ἱππέως, ἐκείνου μὲν ὑπερφρονήσας τά τε ἄλλα πάντα διὰ φαλακρῶν ἐν τοῖς Φλωραλίοις μέχρι νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Τιβερίου χλευασίᾳ, ὅτι τοι-
2 οῦτος ἦν, ποιήσαντος, καὶ φῶς τοῖς ἀπιοῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου διὰ πεντακισχιλίων παίδων ἀπεξυρημένων παρασχόντος (τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐδέησε δι' ὀργῆς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι ὥστ' οὐδὲ προσεποιήσατο ἀρχὴν ὅτι περὶ αὐτῶν ἠκηκόει, καίπερ Καισιανῶν[1] ἐξ ἐκείνου πάντων τῶν φαλακρῶν ὀνομασθέντων),
3 τοῦ δὲ δὴ Τερεντίου, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Σεϊανοῦ φιλίᾳ κρινόμενος οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἠρνήσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔφη καὶ σπουδάσαι μάλιστα αὐτὸν καὶ θεραπεῦσαι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Τιβερίου οὕτως ἐτιμᾶτο, "ὥστ' εἰ μὲν ἐκεῖνος ὀρθῶς" εἶπεν "ἐποίει τοιούτῳ φίλῳ χρώμενος, οὐδὲ ἐγώ
4 τι ἠδίκηκα· εἰ δ' ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ὁ πάντα ἀκριβῶς εἰδὼς ἐπλανήθη, τί θαυμαστὸν εἰ καὶ ἐγώ οἱ συνεξηπατήθην; καὶ γάρ τοι προσήκει ἡμῖν πάντας τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τιμωμένους ἀγαπᾶν, μὴ πολυπραγμονοῦντας ὁποῖοί τινές εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ἕνα ὅρον τῆς φιλίας σφῶν ποιουμένους τὸ τῷ αὐτο-
5 κράτορι αὐτοὺς ἀρέσκειν." ἥ τε γὰρ βουλὴ διὰ ταῦτα αὐτὸν ἀφῆκε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοῖς κατηγορήσασιν αὐτοῦ προσεπετίμησε,[2] καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος συγκατέθετό σφισι. τόν τε Πίσωνα τὸν πολίαρχον τελευτήσαντα δημοσίᾳ ταφῇ ἐτίμησεν, ὅπερ που καὶ ἄλλοις ἐχαρίζετο· καὶ Λούκιον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Λαμίαν[3] ἀνθείλετο, ὃν πρόπαλαι τῇ Συρίᾳ[4] προστάξας κατεῖχεν ἐν τῇ

[1] Καισιανῶν Bs., καὶ σιανῶν M, σιανῶν Xiph.
[2] προσεπετίμησε Camerarius, προσετίμησε M, προετίμησε Xiph.

He overlooked the action of the former, who at the Floralia had seen to it that all the merry-making up to nightfall was done by baldheaded men, in order to poke fun at the emperor, who was bald, and at night had furnished light to the people as they left the theatre by torches in the hands of five thousand boys with shaven pates. Indeed, Tiberius was so far from becoming angry at him that he pretended not to have heard about it at all, though all baldheaded persons were thenceforth called Caesiani. As for Terentius, he was spared because, when on trial for his friendship with Sejanus, he not only did not deny it, but even affirmed that he had shown the greatest zeal in his behalf and had paid court to him for the reason that the minister had been so highly honoured by Tiberius himself; "consequently," he said, "if the emperor did right in having such a friend, I, too, have done no wrong; and if he, who has accurate knowledge of everything, erred, what wonder is it that I shared in his deception? For surely it is our duty to cherish all whom he honours, without concerning ourselves overmuch about the kind of men they are, but making our friendship for them depend on just one thing—the fact that they please the emperor." The senate, because of this, acquitted him and rebuked his accusers besides; and Tiberius concurred with them. When Piso, the city prefect, died, he honoured him with a public funeral, a distinction that he also granted to others. In his stead he chose Lucius Lamia, whom he had long since assigned to Syria, A.D. 32

[3] Λαμίαν Turn., ταμιείαν M.
[1] Συρίᾳ Casaubon, στρατιᾷ M.

6 Ῥώμῃ. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέρων πολλῶν ἐποίει, ἔργῳ μὲν μηδενὸς αὐτῶν δεόμενος, λόγῳ δὲ δὴ τιμᾶν αὐτοὺς προσποιούμενος. κἀν τούτῳ Οὐιτρασίου[1] Πωλίωνος τοῦ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἄρχοντος τελευτήσαντος Ἰβήρῳ τινὶ Καισαρείῳ χρόνον τινὰ τὸ ἔθνος ἐπέτρεψε.

20 Τῶν δ' οὖν ὑπάτων ὁ μὲν Δομίτιος δι' ἔτους ἦρξε (τῆς γὰρ Ἀγριππίνης τῆς τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ θυγατρὸς ἀνὴρ ἦν), οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ὥς που τῷ Τιβερίῳ ἔδοξε. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ μακρότερον τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ βραχύτερον ἂν ᾑρεῖτο,[2] καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἔτι καὶ θᾶσσον τοῦ τεταγμένου ἀπήλλασσε, τοῖς
2 δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἄρχειν ἐδίδου. ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐς ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀποδείξας ἄν τινα ἐκεῖνον μὲν κατέλυεν, ἕτερον δὲ καὶ αὖθις ἕτερον ἀντικαθίστη· καί τινας καὶ ἐς τρίτον ἑτέρους προχειριζόμενος, εἶτα ἄλλους ὑπατεύειν πρὸ αὐτῶν ἀνθ' ἑτέρων
3 ἐποίει. καὶ περὶ μὲν τοὺς ὑπάτους ταῦτα διὰ πάσης ὡς εἰπεῖν τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῦ ἐγίγνετο· τῶν δὲ δὴ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς αἰτούντων ἐξελέγετο ὅσους ἤθελε, καί σφας ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσέπεμπε, τοὺς μὲν συνιστὰς αὐτῷ, οἵπερ ὑπὸ πάντων ᾑροῦντο, τοὺς δὲ ἐπί τε τοῖς δικαιώμασι καὶ
4 ἐπὶ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ τῷ τε κλήρῳ ποιούμενος. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔς τε τὸν δῆμον καὶ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος οἱ προσήκοντες ἑκατέρῳ, τῆς ἀρχαίας ὁσίας ἕνεκα, καθάπερ καὶ νῦν, ὥστε ἐν εἰκόνι δοκεῖν γίγνεσθαι,

[1] Οὐιτρασίου Bs., οὐητρασίου M.
[2] ἂν ᾑρεῖτο Bk., ἀνῃρεῖτο M.

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[1] He is called Severus by Philo, *In Flaccum* 1.

but was detaining in Rome. He did the same also with many others, not that he really had any need of them, but he thus made an outward show of honouring them. Meanwhile Vitrasius Pollio, the governor of Egypt, died, and he entrusted the province for a time to a certain Hiberus,[1] an imperial freedman. A.D. 32

As for the consuls, Domitius held office for the whole year (for he was the husband of Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus), but the rest only so long as pleased Tiberius. Some he would choose for a longer period and some for a shorter; some he removed before the end of the appointed term, and others he allowed to hold office beyond their time. He would even appoint a man for the whole year and then depose him, setting up another and still another in his place; and sometimes, after choosing certain substitutes for third place, he would then cause others to become consul ahead of them in place of the second set. These irregularities in the case of the consuls occurred throughout practically his whole reign. Of the candidates for the other offices, he selected as many as he wished and referred them to the senate, some with his recommendation, in which event they were chosen unanimously, but in the case of others conditioning their selection upon the merit of their claims, upon mutual agreement, or upon the lot. After that the candidates went before the people or before the plebs,[2] according as they belonged to the one or the other, and were duly elected; this was done in order to conform to time-honoured precedent, just as is done to-day, so as to produce the semblance of a valid

[2] The *comitia centuriata* and the *comitia tributa* respectively.

ἐσιόντες ἀπεδείκνυντο. εἰ δ' οὖν ποτε ἐνέλιπόν[1] τινες ἢ καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ ἀκράτῳ ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ ἐλάττους προεχειρίζοντο. τῷ γοῦν ἐπιόντι ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ ὅ τε Γάλβας ὁ Σέρουιος ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐταρχήσας καὶ Λούκιος Κορνήλιος τὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ὄνομα ἔσχον, πεντεκαίδεκα στρατηγοὶ ἐγένοντο· καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἔτη συνέβη, ὥστε ἔστι μὲν ὅτε ἑκκαίδεκα ἔστι δ' ὅτε παρ' ἕνα ἢ καὶ δύο χειροτονεῖσθαι.

21 Τιβέριος δὲ δὴ ἦλθε μὲν πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ διέτριψεν ἐν τοῖς πέριξ αὐτοῦ τόποις, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐσεφοίτησεν εἴσω, καίτοι καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίους ἀποσχών, καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας τάς τε τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ τὰς λοιπὰς καὶ τὴν τοῦ Δρούσου τὴν
2 Ἰουλίαν ἐκδούς. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδ' ἡ πόλις τοὺς γάμους αὐτῶν ἑώρτασεν, ἀλλὰ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ τότε καὶ συνήχθη καὶ ἐδίκασε. σφόδρα γὰρ ἐπιμελὲς ἐποιεῖτο ἀεί σφας ὁσάκις καὶ καθήκοι[2] συνιέναι καὶ μήτ' ὀψιαίτερον ἀπαντᾶν τοῦ τεταγμένου μήτε πρωιαίτερον ἀπαλλάττε-
3 σθαι. καὶ πολλὰ περὶ τούτου καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπέστελλε, καί ποτέ τινα ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀναγνωσθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν. ὃ καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων πραγμάτων ἐποίει, καθάπερ μὴ δυνάμενος αὐτὰ ἄντικρυς τῇ βουλῇ γράψαι. ἐσέπεμπε δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν οὐ μόνον τὰ βιβλία τὰ διδόμενά οἱ παρὰ τῶν μηνυόντων τι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς βασάνους ἃς ὁ Μάκρων ἐποιεῖτο, ὥστε μηδὲν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πλὴν
4 τῆς καταψηφίσεως γίγνεσθαι. ἐπεὶ μέντοι Οὐιβούλιός τε Ἀγρίππας ἱππεὺς φάρμακον ἐν

[1] ἐνέλιπόν R. Steph., ἐνέλειπόν M.
[2] καθήκοι Dind., καθήκει M.

election. In case there was ever a deficiency of A.D. 32
candidates, or in case they became involved in irreconcilable strife, a smaller number were chosen. Thus, in the following year, when Servius Galba A.D. 33
(who later became emperor) and Lucius Cornelius held the title of consuls, there were only fifteen praetors; and this situation continued for many years, so that sometimes sixteen and sometimes one or two fewer were chosen.

Tiberius now approached the capital and sojourned in its environs; but he did not go inside the walls, although he was but four miles away, and bestowed in marriage the remaining daughters of Germanicus and also Julia, the daughter of Drusus. Hence the city, on its part, did not hold any festival in honour of their marriages, but everything went on as usual, even the senate convening and deciding judicial cases. For Tiberius made an important point of their assembling as often as it was fitting for them to meet, and insisted on their not arriving later or departing earlier than the time appointed. He also sent to the consuls many injunctions on this head, and once ordered certain statements to be read aloud by them. He took the same course also in regard to some other matters—just as if he could not write directly to the senate! He did, however, send in to that body not only the documents given him by the informers, but also the confessions which Macro had obtained from people under torture, so that nothing was left to them except the vote of condemnation. About this time, however, a certain Vibullius[1] Agrippa, a knight, swallowed poison from a ring and died in

[1] He is called Vibulenus by Tacitus (*Ann.* vi. 40).

αὐτῷ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἐκ δακτυλίου ῥοφήσας ἀπέθανε, καὶ ὁ Νέρουας μηκέτι τὴν συνουσίαν αὐτοῦ φέρων ἀπεκαρτέρησε διά τε τἆλλα, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι τοὺς νόμους τοὺς περὶ τῶν συμβολαίων ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος τεθέντας, ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἀπιστία καὶ ταραχὴ πολλὴ γενήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν,
5 ἀνενεώσατο, καὶ πολλά γε αὐτοῦ παρακαλοῦντος ὅπως τι ἐμφάγῃ[1] οὐδ' ἀποκρίνασθαί τι ἠθέλησε, τό τε πρᾶγμα τὸ κατὰ τὰ δανείσματα ἐμετρίασε, καὶ δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας μυριάδας τῷ δημοσίῳ ἔδωκεν ὥστ' αὐτὰς ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν βουλευτῶν ἀτοκεὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐς τρία ἔτη ἐκδανεισθῆναι, τούς τε ἐπιβοητοτάτους τῶν τὰς κατηγορίας ποιουμένων ἀποθανεῖν ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκέλευσε.
6 καὶ ἐνδεῖξαί τινα ἀνδρὸς ἐν τοῖς ἑκατοντάρχοις ἐξητασμένου βουληθέντος ἀπεῖπε μηδένα ἐστρατευμένον τοῦτο ποιεῖν, καίπερ καὶ ἱππεῦσι καὶ βουλευταῖς ἐπιτρέπων αὐτὸ πράττειν.

22 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐν[2] μὲν τούτῳ ἐπῃνεῖτο, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι ψηφισθέντα οἱ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πολλὰ οὐκ ἐδέξατο, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἐρώτων, οἷς ἀνέδην[3] καὶ τῶν εὐγενεστάτων καὶ ἀρρένων καὶ θηλειῶν
2 ὁμοίως ἐχρῆτο, διεβάλλετο. ὁ γοῦν Μάριος ὁ Σέξτος ἐκεῖνος ὁ φίλος αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πλουτήσας καὶ δυνηθεὶς τοσοῦτον ὥστ', ἐπειδὴ γείτονί τινι ὠργίσθη, δειπνίσαι[4] τε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας, καὶ τῇ μὲν προτεραίᾳ τὴν ἔπαυλιν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν κατασκάψαι, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπί τε τὸ μεῖζον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ λαμπρότερον αὐτὴν

[1] τι ἐμφάγῃ Polak, τι ἂν φαίη M.
[2] ἐν M cod. Peir., ἐπὶ Xiph.
[3] ἀνέδην cod. Peir. Xiph., ἀναίδην M.

the senate-house itself; and Nerva, who could no longer endure the emperor's society, starved himself to death, chiefly because Tiberius had reaffirmed the laws on contracts enacted by Caesar, which were sure to result in great loss of confidence and financial confusion, and although Tiberius repeatedly urged him to eat something, he would make no reply. Thereupon Tiberius modified his decision regarding loans and gave one hundred million sesterces to the public treasury, with the provision that this money should be lent out by the senators for three years without interest to such as asked for it; and he further commanded that the most notorious of those who were bringing accusations against others should be put to death in a single day. And when a man who had been a centurion desired to lodge information against someone, he forbade anyone who had served in the army to do this, although he allowed the knights and senators to do so. A.D. 33

For his course in these matters Tiberius received praise, and especially because he would not accept numerous honours that were voted to him because of these acts. But the sensual orgies which he carried on shamelessly with persons of the highest rank, both male and female, brought him ill repute. For example, there was the case of his friend Sextus Marius. Imperial favour had made this man so rich and so powerful that once, when he was at odds with a neighbour, he invited him to be his guest for two days, on the first of which he razed the man's villa level with the ground and on the next rebuilt it on a larger and more elaborate scale; and

[4] δειπνίσαι Xiph., δειπνῆσαι M.

3 ἀνοικοδομῆσαι, ἀγνοοῦντί τε αὐτῷ τοὺς ταῦτα πεποιηκότας ἑκάτερον ὁμολογῆσαι, καὶ παραδείξαντα εἰπεῖν ὅτι "οὕτω καὶ ἀμύνεσθαί τινα καὶ ἀμείβεσθαι καὶ οἶδα καὶ δύναμαι," τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκπρεπῆ οὖσαν ὑπεκπέμψας ποι ἵνα μὴ ὁ Τιβέριος αὐτὴν αἰσχύνῃ, αἰτίαν τε ἔσχεν ὡς
4 συνὼν οἱ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ συναπώλετο. ἐπὶ μὲν τούτοις αἰσχύνην ὠφλίσκανεν, ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῷ τε τοῦ Δρούσου καὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀγριππίνης θανάτῳ ὠμότητα· δοκοῦντες γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεϊανοῦ πάντα τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς πρότερον γεγονέναι,[1] καὶ ἐλπίσαντές σφας σωθήσεσθαι τότε, ὡς καὶ
5 ἐκείνους πεφονεῦσθαι ἔμαθον, ὑπερήλγησαν διά τε τοῦτο καὶ ὅτι τὰ ὀστᾶ αὐτῶν οὐ[2] μόνον οὐκ ἐς τὸ βασιλικὸν μνημεῖον κατέθετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ κρυφθῆναί που κατὰ τῆς γῆς ἐκέλευσεν ὥστε μηδέποτε εὑρεθῆναι. τῇ δ' οὖν Ἀγριππίνῃ καὶ ἡ Πλαγκῖνα ἡ Μουνατία ἐπεσφάγη· πρότερον γὰρ καίπερ μισῶν αὐτήν, οὐ διὰ τὸν Γερμανικὸν ἀλλὰ διὰ ἄλλο τι, ὅμως ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐκείνη τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτῆς ἐφησθῇ, ζῆν εἴα.

23 Ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἔπραττε, καὶ τὸν Γάιον ταμίαν μὲν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς πρῶτον ἀπέδειξεν, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς πέντε ἔτεσι θᾶσσον τοῦ καθήκοντος προβιβάσειν ὑπέσχετο, καίτοι καὶ τῆς γερουσίας δεηθεὶς ὅπως μήτε πολλαῖς μήτ' ἀκαίροις τιμαῖς

[1] γεγονέναι Reim., γενόμενα M, τὰ κατ' ἐκείνων πρότερον γίνεσθαι Zon.
[2] οὐ supplied by Leuncl.

[1] The son of Germanicus.

then, when the other could not guess who had done it, Marius admitted his responsibility for both achievements and added significantly: "This shows you that I have both the knowledge and the power to repel attacks and also to requite kindness." When this Marius, now, had sent away his daughter, a strikingly beautiful girl, to a place of refuge, in order to prevent her from being outraged by Tiberius, he was charged with having criminal relations with her himself, and because of this he perished together with his daughter. All this brought disgrace upon the emperor, and his connexion with the death of Drusus[1] and Agrippina gave him a reputation for cruelty. Men had been thinking that all the previous action against these two was due to Sejanus, and had been expecting that now their lives would be spared; so, when they learned that they, too, had been murdered, they were exceedingly grieved, partly because of the deed itself and partly because, so far from depositing their bones in the imperial tomb, Tiberius ordered their remains to be hidden so carefully somewhere underground that they could never be found. Besides Agrippina, Munatia Plancina was slain; up to this time, it would appear, Tiberius, though he hated her (not on account of Germanicus, but for another reason), nevertheless had permitted her to live, in order to prevent Agrippina from rejoicing at her death. A.D. 33

Besides doing all this, he appointed Gaius quaestor, though not of the first rank, and promised to advance him to the other offices five years earlier than was customary, despite the fact that he had requested the senate not to make the young man conceited by numerous or premature honours, for fear he might

αὐτόν, μὴ καὶ ἐξοκείλῃ ποι, ἐπαίρῃ.[1] εἶχε μὲν
2 γὰρ καὶ τὸν Τιβέριον τὸν ἔκγονον· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον
μὲν διά τε τὴν ἡλικίαν (ἔτι γὰρ παιδίον ἦν) καὶ
διὰ τὴν ὑποψίαν (οὐ γὰρ ἐπιστεύετο τοῦ Δρούσου
παῖς εἶναι) παρεώρα, τῷ δὲ δὴ Γαΐῳ ὡς καὶ
μοναρχήσοντι προσεῖχε, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι τὸν
Τιβέριον καὶ ὀλίγον χρόνον βιώσεσθαι καὶ ὑπ'
αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου φονευθήσεσθαι σαφῶς ἠπίστατο.
3 ἠγνόει μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Γάιον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ εἶπέ ποτε αὐτῷ διαφερομένῳ πρὸς τὸν
Τιβέριον ὅτι "σύ τε τοῦτον ἀποκτενεῖς καὶ σὲ
ἄλλοι." οὔτε δὲ ἕτερόν τινα ὁμοίως πάνυ
προσήκοντα ἑαυτῷ ἔχων, καὶ ἐκεῖνον κάκιστον
4 εἰδὼς ἐσόμενον, ἀσμένως, ὥς φασι, τὴν ἀρχὴν
αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν, ὅπως τά τε ἑαυτοῦ τῇ τοῦ Γαΐου
ὑπερβολῇ συγκρυφθῇ, καὶ τὸ πλεῖον τό τε
εὐγενέστατον τῆς λοιπῆς βουλῆς καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν
φθαρῇ. λέγεται γοῦν πολλάκις μὲν[2] ἀναφθέγξασθαι τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἀρχαῖον

ἐμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί,

πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὸν Πρίαμον μακαρίσαι ὅτι
ἄρδην καὶ μετὰ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ μετὰ τῆς
5 βασιλείας ἀπώλετο. καὶ τεκμαίρονταί γε ἀληθῆ
ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ γεγράφθαι τοῖς τότε γενομένοις·
τοσοῦτο γὰρ πλῆθος τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ τῶν
βουλευτῶν ἐξώλετο ὥστε τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς
κληρωτοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἐστρατηγηκότας ἐπὶ τρία
τοὺς δ' ὑπατευκότας ἐπὶ ἓξ ἔτη τὰς ἡγεμονίας τῶν
ἐθνῶν, ἀπορίᾳ τῶν διαδεξομένων αὐτούς, σχεῖν.
6 τί γὰρ ἄν τις ἔχοι τοὺς αἱρετοὺς ὀνομάζειν, οἷς

[1] ἐπαίρῃ Pflugk, ἐπαίρειν M. [2] μὲν supplied by Bk.

go astray in some way or other. He also had a grandson by the name of Tiberius, but him he disregarded both on account of his age (he was still a mere child) and on account of the suspicion that he was not the son of Drusus. He therefore cleaved to Gaius as his successor in the monarchy, the more so as he felt sure that Tiberius would live but a short time and would be murdered by Gaius himself. For there was no element in Gaius' character of which he was ignorant; indeed, he once said to him, when he was quarrelling with Tiberius: "You will kill him and others will kill you." But as he had no one else so closely related to himself, and was well aware that Gaius would be a thorough knave, he was glad to give him the empire, they say, in order that his own misdeeds might be lost sight of in the enormity of Gaius' crimes, and that the largest and the noblest portion of what was left of the senate might perish after his own death. At all events, he is said to have uttered frequently that old sentiment: A.D. 33

"When I am dead, let fire o'erwhelm the earth."[1]

Often, also, he used to declare Priam fortunate, because he involved both his country and his throne in his own utter ruin. Evidence of the truth of these records about him is to be found in the events of those days. For such a multitude of the senators and others lost their lives that in the case of the officials chosen by lot the ex-praetors held the governorship of the provinces for three years and the ex consuls for six, owing to the lack of persons qualified to succeed them. And what name could one properly apply to the appointed officials, upon

[1] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*[2] Adesp. 513.

και ἀπὸ πρώτης ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἄρχειν ἐδίδου; ἐν δ' οὖν τοῖς τότε ἀποθανοῦσι καὶ Γάλλος ἐγένετο· τότε γὰρ αὐτῷ μόλις, ὡς αὐτὸς εἶπε, κατηλλάγη. οὕτω που, παρὰ τὸ νομιζόμενον, καὶ τὴν ζωὴν τιμωρίαν τισὶ καὶ τὸν θάνατον εὐεργεσίαν ἐποίει.

24 *Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιστάντος αὐτὸς μέν, καίτοι περί τε τὸ Ἀλβανὸν καὶ περὶ τὸ Τούσκουλον διατρίβων, οὐκ ἐσῆλθεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ' ὕπατοι Λούκιός τε Οὐιτέλλιος καὶ Φάβιος Περσικὸς τὴν δεκετηρίδα τὴν δευτέραν ἑώρτασαν. οὕτω γὰρ αὐτήν, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰκοσετηρίδα ὠνόμαζον, ὡς καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὖθις αὐτῷ*
2 *κατὰ τὸν Αὔγουστον διδόντες. τήν τε οὖν ἑορτὴν ἅμα ἐποίουν καὶ ἐκολάζοντο· ἀφείθη μὲν γὰρ τῶν αἰτιαθέντων τότε οὐδείς, πάντες δ' ἡλίσκοντο, οἱ μὲν πλείους ἔκ τε τῶν τοῦ Τιβερίου γραμμάτων*[1] *καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Μάκρωνος βασάνων, οἱ δὲ δὴ λοιποὶ ἐξ ὧν βουλεύεσθαί*[2] *σφας ὑπώπτευον. καὶ ἐθρυλεῖτό γε ὅτι δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐδ' ἀφικνοῖτο ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἵνα μὴ παρὼν ταῖς καταδίκαις*
3 *αἰσχύνοιτο. ἄλλοι τε οὖν, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν δημίων οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν, ἀπέθανον καὶ Πομπώνιος Λαβεών. καὶ οὗτος μὲν τῆς τε Μυσίας ποτὲ ὀκτὼ ἔτεσι μετὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἄρξας, καὶ δώρων μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς γραφείς, ἐθελοντὶ*[3] *σὺν αὐτῇ διεφθάρη· Μάμερκος*[4] *δὲ δὴ Αἰμίλιος*

[1] *γραμμάτων* Xyl., *πραγμάτων* M cod. Peir.
[2] *βουλεύεσθαί* M, *βούλεσθαί* cod. Peir.
[3] *ἐθελοντὶ* Dind., *ἐθελοντῇ* M.
[4] *Μάμερκος* Lipsius, *μάρκος* M Xiph., *μαμέρτιος* exc. Vat.

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[1] Cf. chap. 3, 6 sup.

whom from the first he bestowed office for indefinitely long periods? Among those who perished at this time was Gallus; for not until then, and scarcely even then, did Tiberius become reconciled with him, as he himself put it.[1] Thus it came to pass that, contrary to the usual custom, he inflicted life upon some as a punishment, and bestowed death upon others as a kindness. A.D. 33

The twentieth year of Tiberius' reign was now at hand, but he did not enter the city, although he was sojourning in the vicinity of the Alban territory and Tusculum; the consuls, however, Lucius Vitellius and Fabius Persicus, celebrated the completion of his second ten-year period. For this was the way the senators styled it, rather than as a twenty-year period, to signify that they were granting him the leadership of the State again, as had been done in the case of Augustus. But punishment overtook them at the very time that they were celebrating the festival; for this time none of those accused was acquitted, but all were convicted, most of them by means of the papers of Tiberius and the statements obtained under torture by Macro, and the rest by what these two suspected they were planning. It was rumoured, indeed, that the real reason why Tiberius did not come to Rome was to avoid being disgraced by being present when the sentences were pronounced. Among the various persons who perished either at the hands of the executioners or by their own act was Pomponius Labeo. This man, who had once governed Moesia for eight years after his praetorship, was indicted, together with his wife, for taking bribes, and voluntarily perished along with her. Mamercus Aemilius Scaurus, on the other A.D. 34

Σκαῦρος μήτ' ἄρξας τινῶν μήτε δωροδοκήσας ἑάλω τε διὰ τραγῳδίαν καὶ παθήματι δεινοτέρῳ
4 οὗ συνέγραψε περιέπεσεν. Ἀτρεὺς μὲν τὸ ποίημα ἦν, παρῄνει δὲ τῶν ἀρχομένων τινὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην, ἵνα τὴν τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἀβουλίαν φέρῃ. μαθὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Τιβέριος ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τε τὸ ἔπος εἰρῆσθαι ἔφη, Ἀτρεὺς εἶναι διὰ τὴν μιαιφονίαν[1] προσποιησάμενος, καὶ ὑπειπὼν ὅτι "καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν Αἴαντ' αὐτὸν[2] ποιήσω," ἀνάγκην οἱ προσήγαγεν αὐτοεντεὶ[3]
5 ἀπολέσθαι. οὐ μὴν καὶ[4] ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατηγορήθη, ἀλλ' ὡς[5] τὴν Λιουίλλαν μεμοιχευκώς· πολλοὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι δι' αὐτήν, οἱ μὲν ἐπ' ἀληθείας οἱ δὲ ἐκ συκοφαντίας, ἐκολάσθησαν.

25 Τούτων δ' οὕτως ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ γιγνομένων οὐδὲ τὸ ὑπήκοον ἡσύχαζεν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα νεανίσκος τις Δροῦσος λέγων εἶναι περί τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ὤφθη, καὶ ἐδέξαντο αὐτὸν ἀσμένως αἱ πόλεις καὶ συνῄροντο. κἂν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν προχωρήσας τὰ στρατόπεδα κατέσχεν, εἰ μὴ γνωρίσας τις αὐτὸν συνέλαβέ τε καὶ πρὸς τὸν Τιβέριον ἀνήγαγεν.

2 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Γάιος μὲν Γάλλος καὶ Μᾶρκος Σερουίλιος ὑπάτευσαν, Τιβέριος δὲ ἐν Ἀντίῳ τοὺς τοῦ Γαΐου γάμους ἑώρταζεν. ἐς γὰρ τὴν Ῥώμην οὐδὲ δι' ἐκείνους ἐσελθεῖν ἠθέλησεν, ἐπειδὴ Φουλκίνιός τις Τρίων, φίλος μὲν τοῦ Σεϊανοῦ

[1] εἶναι repeated after μιαιφονίαν in M.

[2] οὖν Αἴαντ' αὐτὸν Bs., οὖν αἴαντα αὐτὸν Xiph. Zon. (and late corr. in M), οὖνεανταύτην M.

[3] αὐτοεντεὶ M Xiph., αὐτοεντίᾳ Zon.

[4] οὐ μὴν καὶ Xiph., οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ M.

[5] ἀλλ' ὡς Xiph., ἄλλως M.

hand, who had never governed a province or accepted bribes, was convicted because of a tragedy he had composed, and fell a victim to a worse fate than that which he had described. "Atreus" was the name of his drama, and in the manner of Euripides[1] it advised one of the subjects of that monarch to endure the folly of the reigning prince. Tiberius, upon hearing of it, declared that this had been written with reference to him, claiming that he himself was "Atreus" because of his bloodthirstiness; and remarking, "I will make him Ajax," he compelled him to commit suicide. The above, however, was not the accusation that was actually brought against him, but instead, he was charged with having committed adultery with Livilla; indeed, many others also were punished on her account, some with good reason and some as the result of false accusations. A.D. 34

While affairs at Rome were in this state, the subject territory was not quiet either. The very moment a youth who claimed to be Drusus appeared in the regions of Greece and Ionia, the cities received him gladly and espoused his cause. He would have gone on to Syria and taken over the legions, had not someone recognized him, arrested him, and taken him to Tiberius.

After this, Gaius Gallus and Marcus Servilius became consuls. Tiberius was at Antium holding a festival in honour of Gaius' marriage; for not even for such a purpose would he enter Rome, because of the case of a certain Fulcinius Trio. This man, who had been a friend of Sejanus, but had stood high in A.D. 35

[1] Cf. *Phoen.* 393.

γεγονώς, σφόδρα δ' αὐτῷ διὰ τὰς συκοφαντίας κεχαρισμένος, κατηγορηθείς τε παρεδόθη καὶ δείσας ἑαυτὸν προαπέκτεινε, πολλὰ μὲν ἐκεῖνον πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὸν Μάκρωνα ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις
3 λοιδορήσας. καὶ οἱ μὲν παῖδες αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν αὐτὰς δημοσιεῦσαι, ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος μαθὼν τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριόν σφας ἐσκομισθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν. ἥκιστά τε γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν τοιούτων ἔμελε, καὶ τὰς κακηγορίας[1] καὶ λανθανούσας ἔσθ' ὅτε ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἑκών,
4 ὥσπερ τινὰς ἐπαίνους, ἐξέφαινεν. ἀμέλει καὶ ὅσα ὁ Δροῦσος, οἷα ἔν τε ταλαιπωρίᾳ ὢν καὶ κακοπαθῶν, ἐξελάλησε, καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐσέπεμψε. Τρίων μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἀπέθανε, Ποππαῖος δὲ Σαβῖνος τῆς τε Μυσίας ἑκατέρας καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ χρόνου παρὰ πᾶσαν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὴν τοῦ Τιβερίου ἀρχὴν ἡγεμονεύσας, ἥδιστα προαπηλλάγη πρίν
5 τινα αἰτίαν λαβεῖν. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ῥήγουλος ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς διεδέξατο· καὶ γὰρ ἡ Μακεδονία, ὡς δέ τινές φασι, καὶ ἡ Ἀχαΐα,[2] ἀκληρωτὶ[3] προσετάσσοντο.

26 Ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ὁ Ἀρτάβανος ὁ Πάρθος τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Ἀρτάξου τὴν Ἀρμενίαν Ἀρσάκῃ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ υἱεῖ ἔδωκε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μηδεμία ἐπὶ τούτῳ τιμωρία παρὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐγένετο, τῆς τε Καππαδοκίας ἐπείρα καὶ ὑπερηφανώτερον καὶ τοῖς Πάρθοις ἐχρῆτο.
2 ἀποστάντες οὖν τινες αὐτοῦ ἐπρεσβεύσαντο πρὸς τὸν Τιβέριον, βασιλέα σφίσιν ἐκ τῶν ὁμηρευόντων

[1] κακηγορίας Bk., κατηγορίας M cod. Peir. (κατηγοριῶν).
[2] Ἀχαΐα R. Steph., ἀχαιία M. [3] ἀκληρωτὶ St., ἀκληρωτεὶ M.

the favour of Tiberius on account of his services as an informer, had been accused and handed over for trial; and, becoming frightened, he took his own life before he could be tried, after roundly abusing both the emperor and Macro in his will. His sons, now, did not dare to make the will public, but Tiberius, learning what had been written, ordered it to be brought into the senate. For he was little concerned, indeed, about such matters, and would sometimes voluntarily give to the public denunciations of his conduct that were being kept secret, as if they were so many eulogies. At any rate, he sent to the senate all the statements that Drusus had made in his misery and distress. Besides Trio, who thus perished, there was also Poppaeus Sabinus, who had governed the two Moesias and Macedonia as well during almost the whole reign of Tiberius up to this time, and was now most happy to leave this world before any charge could be brought against him. Regulus became his successor by the same manner of appointment; for Macedonia and, according to some, Achaia, too, were assigned to him without recourse to the lot.[1] A.D. 35

At about this same time Artabanus, the Parthian, upon the death of Artaxes, bestowed Armenia upon his son Arsaces; and when no vengeance came upon him from Tiberius for this, he made an attempt upon Cappadocia and treated even the Parthians somewhat haughtily. Consequently some revolted from him and sent an embassy to Tiberius, asking a king for themselves from amongst those who were

[1] This is Dio's way of stating that Tiberius had taken back these provinces that had been assigned to the senate by Augustus (cf. liii. 12, 4). Claudius later restored them to the senate (lx. 24, 1).

αἰτοῦντες· καὶ αὐτοῖς τότε μὲν Φραάτην[1] τὸν τοῦ Φραάτου, τελευτήσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν Τιριδάτην,[2] ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ καὶ αὐτὸν
3 γένους ὄντα, ἔπεμψε. καὶ ὅπως γε[3] ὡς ῥᾷστα τὴν βασιλείαν παραλάβῃ, ἔγραψε Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ Ἴβηρι ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐσβαλεῖν, ἵνα ὁ Ἀρτάβανος τῷ υἱεῖ βοηθῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας ἀπάρῃ. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ὁ Τιριδάτης ἐβασίλευσεν· ὁ γὰρ Ἀρτάβανος Σκύθας προσλαβὼν οὐ χαλεπῶς αὐτὸν ἐξήλασε.
4 τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν Πάρθων οὕτως ἔσχε, τὴν δ' Ἀρμενίαν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ὁ Μιθριδάτου μὲν τοῦ Ἴβηρος, ὡς ἔοικε, παῖς, Φαρασμάνου[4] δὲ τοῦ μετ' αὐτὸν τῶν Ἰβήρων βασιλεύσαντος ἀδελφός, ἔλαβε.

5 Σέξτου δὲ δὴ Παπινίου μετὰ Κυΐντου Πλαυτίου ὑπατεύσαντος ὅ τε Τίβερις πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπέκλυσεν ὥστε πλευσθῆναι, καὶ πυρὶ πολὺ πλείω περί τε τὸν ἱππόδρομον καὶ περὶ τὸν Ἀουεντῖνον ἐφθάρη, ὥστε τὸν Τιβέριον δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας μυριάδας τοῖς ζημιωθεῖσί τι ἀπ'
27 αὐτοῦ δοῦναι. εἰ δέ τι καὶ τὰ Αἰγύπτια πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους προσήκει, ὁ φοῖνιξ ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἔτει ὤφθη· καὶ ἔδοξε πάντα ταῦτα τὸν θάνατον τῷ Τιβερίῳ προσημῆναι.[5] τότε μὲν γὰρ ὁ Θράσυλλος, τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἦρι ἐκεῖνος ἐπί τε[6] Γναίου Πρόκλου καὶ ἐπὶ Ποντίου Νιγρίνου
2 ὑπάτων ἐτελεύτησεν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ ὁ Μάκρων

[1] Φραάτην Xyl., φράστην M.
[2] Τιριδάτην Dind., τειριδάτην M (and similarly τειριδάτης just below).
[3] γε H. Steph., τε M.
[4] Φαρασμάνου R. Steph., φαρασμένου M.

being kept at Rome as hostages. He first sent them A.D. 35
Phraates, the son of Phraates, and then, after his
death, which occurred on the way thither, Tiridates,
who was also of the royal race. To ensure his securing
the throne as easily as possible, the emperor wrote to
Mithridates the Iberian to invade Armenia, so that
Artabanus should leave his own land in order to assist
his son. And this is exactly what happened; nevertheless,
Tiridates reigned only a short time, for
Artabanus enlisted the aid of the Scythians and easily
expelled him. While Parthian affairs were taking this
course, Armenia fell into the hands of Mithridates,
the son, as it would appear, of Mithridates the Iberian
and the brother of Pharasmanes, who became king of
the Iberians after him.

In the consulship of Sextus Papinius and Quintus A.D. 36
Plautius, the Tiber inundated a large part of the
city so that people went about in boats; and a much
larger region in the vicinity of the Circus and the
Aventine was devastated by fire. To the sufferers
from the latter disaster Tiberius contributed a hundred
million sesterces. And if Egyptian affairs
touch Roman interests at all, it may be mentioned
that the phoenix was seen that year. All these
events were thought to foreshadow the death of
Tiberius. Thrasyllus,[1] indeed, did die at this very
time, and the emperor himself died in the following
spring, in the consulship of Gnaeus Proculus and A.D. 37
Pontius Nigrinus. It chanced that Macro had plotted

[1] Cf. lv. 11.

[5] προσημῆναι Dind., προσημάναι M, προσημαίνειν Xiph. Zon.
[6] τε supplied by Bk.

ἄλλοις τε συχνοῖς καὶ τῷ Δομιτίῳ ἐπιβεβουλευκώς, καὶ ἐγκλήματα καὶ βασάνους κατ' αὐτῶν ἐσκευωρημένος· οὐ μὴν καὶ πάντες οἱ αἰτιαθέντες ἀπέθανον διὰ τὸν Θράσυλλον σοφώτατα τὸν
3 Τιβέριον μεταχειρισάμενον. περὶ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ πάνυ ἀκριβῶς καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν ὥραν ἐν ᾗ τεθνήξοι[1] εἶπεν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ δὴ δέκα ἄλλα ἔτη ψευδῶς βιώσεσθαι ἔφη, ὅπως ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ μακρότερον ζήσων μὴ ἐπειχθῇ σφας ἀποκτεῖναι. ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο· νομίσας γὰρ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐξεῖναί οἱ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλετο κατὰ σχολὴν πρᾶξαι, οὔτ' ἄλλως ἔσπευσε, καὶ τῆς βουλῆς, ἀντειπόντων τι πρὸς τὰς βασάνους τῶν ὑπευθύνων, ἀναβαλομένης[2] τὴν καταδίκην σφῶν οὐκ ὠργίσθη.
4 γυνὴ μὲν γάρ τις ἑαυτὴν τρώσασα ἐσεκομίσθη τε ἐς τὸ συνέδριον, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπαχθεῖσα ἀπέθανε, καὶ Λούκιος Ἀρρούντιος[3] καὶ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ παιδείᾳ προήκων, ἑκούσιος, καίπερ νοσοῦντος ἤδη τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ νομιζομένου μὴ ῥαΐσειν, ἐφθάρη· τὴν γὰρ τοῦ Γαΐου κακίαν συνιδὼν ἐπεθύμησε, πρὶν πειραθῆναι αὐτοῦ, προαπαλλαγῆναι, εἰπὼν ὅτι "οὐ δύναμαι ἐπὶ γήρως δεσπότῃ καινῷ καὶ τοιούτῳ δουλεῦσαι."
5 οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι οἱ μὲν καὶ καταψηφισθέντες, ἀλλ' ὅτι γε οὐκ ἐξῆν αὐτοὺς πρὸ τῶν δέκα ἡμερῶν ἀποθανεῖν, οἱ δὲ καὶ τῆς δίκης αὖθις, ἐπειδὴ τὸν Τιβέριον κακῶς ἀρρωστοῦντα ᾔσθοντο, ἀναβλη-
28 θείσης ἐσώθησαν. ἔφθασε γὰρ ἐν Μισηνῷ μεταλλάξας πρίν τι αὐτῶν μαθεῖν. ἐνόσει μὲν

[1] τεθνήξοι Dind., τεθνήσοι M.
[2] ἀναβαλομένης R. Steph., ἀναβαλλομένης M.
[3] Ἀρρούντιος Xyl., ἀρίντιος M, ἀρούντιος exc. Vat.

against Domitius and numerous others, and had manufactured complaints and testimony taken under torture against them; yet not all the accused were put to death, thanks to Thrasyllus, who handled Tiberius very cleverly. For, though in his own case he stated very accurately both the day and the hour in which he should die, he falsely declared that the emperor should live ten years longer; this was in order that Tiberius, feeling he had a fairly long time to live, should be in no haste to put the accused men to death. And thus it came to pass. For Tiberius, thinking it would be possible for him to do whatever he liked later, at his leisure, made no haste in any way, and showed no anger when the senate, in view of the statements made by the defendants contradicting the testimony taken under torture, postponed sentencing them. Nevertheless, one woman wounded herself, was carried into the senate and from there to prison, where she died; and Lucius Arruntius, distinguished alike for his great age and for his learning, took his own life, even though Tiberius was then sick and was not thought likely to recover. For Arruntius was aware of the evil character of Gaius and desired to be out of the way before he should have any experience of it; for he declared, "I cannot in my old age become the slave of a new master like him." The rest were saved, some even after their condemnation (for it was not lawful for them to be put to death before the expiration of the ten days' grace), and the others because their trial was again postponed when the judges learned that Tiberius was very low. He died at Misenum before learning anything about the trials. He had been ill A.D. 37

γὰρ ἐκ πλείονος χρόνου, προσδοκῶν δὲ δὴ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Θρασύλλου πρόρρησιν βιώσεσθαι οὔτε τοῖς ἰατροῖς ἐκοινοῦτό τι οὔτε τῆς διαίτης τι μετέβαλεν,
2 ἀλλὰ πολλάκις, οἷα ἐν γήρᾳ καὶ νόσῳ μὴ ὀξείᾳ, κατὰ βραχὺ μαραινόμενος τοτὲ μὲν ὅσον οὐκ ἀπέψυχε[1] τοτὲ δὲ ἀνερρώννυτο, κἀκ τούτων πολλὴν μὲν ἡδονὴν τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τῷ Γαΐῳ ὡς καὶ τελευτήσων, πολὺν δὲ καὶ φόβον ὡς καὶ ζήσων,
3 ἐνεποίει. δείσας οὖν ἐκεῖνος μὴ καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀνασωθῇ, οὔτε ἐμφαγεῖν τι αἰτήσαντι αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ βλαβησομένῳ ἔδωκε, καὶ ἱμάτια πολλὰ καὶ παχέα ὡς καὶ θερμασίας τινὸς δεομένῳ προσεπέβαλε, καὶ οὕτως ἀπέπνιξεν αὐτόν, συναραμένου
4 πῃ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ Μάκρωνος· ἅτε γὰρ κακῶς ἤδη τοῦ Τιβερίου νοσοῦντος τὸν νεανίσκον ἐθεράπευε, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι ἐς ἔρωτα αὐτὸν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς Ἐννίας Θρασύλλης προϋπῆκτο. ὅπερ καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος ὑποπτεύσας ποτὲ "εὖ γε," ἔφη, "τὸν δυόμενον ἐγκαταλιπὼν πρὸς τὸν ἀνατέλλοντα ἐπείγῃ."

5 Τιβέριος μὲν δὴ πλείστας μὲν ἀρετὰς πλείστας δὲ καὶ κακίας ἔχων, καὶ ἑκατέραις αὐταῖς ὡς καὶ μόναις κεχρημένος, οὕτω μετήλλαξε τῇ ἕκτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τοῦ Μαρτίου ἡμέρᾳ. ἐβίω δὲ ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας καὶ ἡμέρας ἐννέα, ἀφ' ὧν ἔτη μὲν δύο καὶ εἴκοσι μῆνας δὲ ἑπτὰ καὶ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ ἐμονάρχησε. καὶ δημοσίας τε ταφῆς ἔτυχε καὶ ἐπῃνέθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαΐου.

[1] ἀπέψυχε Rk., ἀπεψύχετο M.

for a good while, but expecting to live because of Thrasyllus' prophecy, he neither consulted his physicians nor changed his manner of life; and so, wasting away gradually, as he was well stricken in years and subject to a sickness that was not severe, he would often all but expire and then recover again. These changes would alternately cause Gaius and the rest great pleasure, when they thought he was going to die, and great fear, when they thought he would live. Gaius, therefore, fearing that his health might actually be restored, refused his requests for something to eat, on the ground that it would hurt him, and pretending that he needed warmth, wrapped him up in many thick clothes and so smothered him, being aided to a certain extent by Macro. For the latter, now that Tiberius was seriously ill, was paying court to the young man, particularly as he had already succeeded in making him fall in love with his own wife, Ennia Thrasylla. Tiberius, suspecting this, had once said: "You do well, indeed, to abandon the setting and hasten to the rising sun." A.D. 37

Thus Tiberius, who possessed a great many virtues and a great many vices, and followed each set in turn as if the other did not exist, passed away in this fashion on the twenty-sixth[1] day of March. He had lived seventy-seven years, four months, and nine days, of which time he had been emperor twenty-two years, seven months, and seven days. A public funeral was accorded him and a eulogy, delivered by Gaius.

[1] Dio is in error. The date was actually the sixteenth.

FRAGMENTS[1]

1. τοιοῦτος ἦν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ μέχρι τέλους· | καὶ γὰρ ἐκόλαζε πικρῶς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀναιτίων, | ἀσυμπαθῶς μιαιφονῶν, καὶ τόσον ἐμισήθη | ὡς ὀνομάζεσθαι πηλὸς αἵματι πεφυρμένος. Const. Man. v. 1971–1974.

2. ὅτι ὑπατικὸν ἄνδρα τινὰ ἀνεῖλε Τιβέριος, ἐγκαλέσας αὐτῷ ὅτι τὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ μορφὴν φέρον νόμισμα φέρων ἐν κόλποις εἰς ἄφοδον ἀπεχώρησεν. Exc. Planud. n. 129 (Mai 81 p. 554 = vol. 5 p. 236 Dind.).

ἄνδρα καὶ γὰρ ὑπατικὸν καὶ τῶν εὐγενεστέρων | τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀφείλετο καὶ σὺν αὐτῇ τὸν πλοῦτον, | τοῦτο καὶ μόνον ἐπειπών, ὅτι "τὸ νόμισμά μου | φέρων ἐπικολπίδιον καὶ ῥυπαροὺς εἰς τόπους | καὶ σκυβαλώδεις παρελθὼν βάρος γαστρὸς ἐκένου." Const. Man. v. 1975–1979.

3. Τιβέριος τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ ἦν ἀπηνὴς καὶ οἴνου ἐλάττων· διὸ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι Βιβέριον[2] αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν, ὃ σημαίνει παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸν οἰνοπότην. Leo p. 278 add. ad v. 14 Cram., cf. Cedr. p. 345, 21–346, 1.

[1] These excerpts, pertaining to Tiberius, are perhaps derived ultimately from Dio. Boissevain places them here at the end of Dio's account of Tiberius.

[2] τιβέριον cod.

FRAGMENTS

1. This is what he was like in the beginning, but he did not remain so until the end, for he harshly punished many who were innocent, heartlessly staining his hands with their blood; and he was so cordially hated that he was called "bloodstained mud." [1]

2. Tiberius put to death a man of consular rank, accusing him of having carried in his bosom a coin bearing the emperor's likeness when he retired to a latrine.

For a man of consular rank and one of the noblest in the realm lost his head and with it his wealth at the hands of Tiberius, who had merely this to say to him: "With my coin in your bosom you turned aside into foul and noisome places and relieved your bowels."

3. Tiberius was harsh in his manner and disposition, and was easily overcome with wine. Hence the Romans used to call him Biberius, which with them means a wine-bibber.

[1] Suetonius (*Tib.* 57) gives *πηλὸν αἵματι πεφυραμένον* (mud kneaded with blood). Cf. Aesch., *Sept.* 48.

BOOK LIX

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ ἐνάτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

α. Περὶ Γαΐου Καίσαρος τοῦ καὶ Καλλιγόλου.
β. Ὡς τὸ Αὐγούστου ἡρῷον ὡσιώθη.
γ. Ὡς αἱ Μαυριτανίαι ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχεσθαι ἤρξαντο.
δ. Ὡς Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἀπέθανεν.

Χρόνου πλῆθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Γναίου[1] Ἀκερρωνίου καὶ[2] Ποντίου Νιγρίνου ὑπατείας καὶ ἄλλα ἔτη τρία ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἵδε ἐγένοντο

Μ. Ἀκύλας Γ. υἱ. Ἰουλιανός
Π. Νώνιος Μ. υἱ. Ἀσπρήνας ὕπ.
Γ. Καῖσαρ Γερμανικὸς τὸ β′
Λ. Ἀπρώνιος[3] Λ. υἱ. Καισιανός[4] ὕπ.
Γ. Καῖσαρ τὸ γ′ ὕπ.[5]
Γ. Καῖσαρ τὸ δ′
Γν. Σέντιος Γν. υἱ. Σατουρνῖνος ὕπ.

(Οὗτος ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς οὐ συναριθμεῖται διὰ τὸ τὰ πλείω αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἑξηκοστῷ γεγράφθαι.)

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Τιβερίου ταῦτα παραδέδοται, διεδέξατο δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Γάιος ὁ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἀγριππίνης παῖς, ὃν καὶ Γερμανικὸν καὶ Καλιγόλαν,[6] ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἐπωνόμαζον. ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ τῷ ἐγγόνῳ τὴν αὐταρ-
2 χίαν κατέλιπεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Γάιος τὰς διαθήκας αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον διὰ τοῦ Μάκρωνος ἐσπέμψας ἀκύρους ὑπό τε τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν προπαρεσκευασμένων οἱ, ὡς καὶ

[1] Γναίου Reim. γαίου M. [2] καὶ added by R. Steph.
[3] Λ. Ἀπρώνιος Xyl., λαιγρώνιος M.
[4] Καισιανός Bs., κελιανὸς ἢ κεστιανός M.
[5] ὕπ. added by Bs.

BOOK LIX

The following is contained in the Fifty-ninth of Dio's *Rome*:—

About Gaius Caesar, called also Caligula (chaps. 1–6).
How the shrine of Augustus was dedicated (chap. 7).
How the Mauretanias began to be governed by Romans (chap. 25).
How Gaius Caesar died (chaps. 29–30).

Duration of time, the remainder of the consulship of Gnaeus Acerronius and Pontius Nigrinus, together with three additional years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated:—

A.D.	
38	M. Aquila C. f. Julianus, P. Nonius M. f. Asprenas.
39	C. Caesar Germanicus (II), L. Apronius L. f. Caesianus.
40	C. Caesar (III).
41	C. Caesar (IV), Cn. Sentius Cn. f. Saturninus.

(This last year is not counted in with the others, since most of its events are recorded in Book LX.)

These are the stories, then, that have been handed A.D. 37
down about Tiberius. His successor was Gaius, the son of Germanicus and Agrippina, who was also known, as I have stated,[1] by the names of Germanicus and Caligula. Tiberius, to be sure, had left the empire to his grandson Tiberius as well; but Gaius sent his will to the senate by Macro and caused it to be declared null and void by the consuls and the others with whom he had arranged matters beforehand, on the ground that the testator had not

[1] Cf. lvii. 5, 6.

[b] Καλιγόλαν H. Steph., καλλιγόλαν M (but with one λ in lvii. 5, 6).

παραφρονήσαντος, ἐποίησεν, ὅτι παιδίῳ, ᾧ μηδὲ
ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐξῆν, ἄρχειν σφᾶς
3 ἐπέτρεψε. τότε τε οὖν παραχρῆμα οὕτως αὐτὸν
τῆς ἀρχῆς παρέλυσε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ποιησά-
μενος ἀπέκτεινε, καίπερ ὁ Τιβέριος πολλαχῇ τὰ
αὐτὰ γράψας, ὡς καὶ ἰσχύν τινα παρὰ τοῦτο
ἕξοντα, κατέλιπε, καὶ πάντα τότε ἐκεῖνα ὑπὸ
τοῦ Μάκρωνος ἐν τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἀνεγνώσθη. ἀλλ'
οὐδὲν γὰρ οὔτε πρὸς τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην οὔτε
πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν τῶν διαδεχομένων τινὰ ἐπί-
4 σκηψίς τις ἰσχύει. ταὐτὸ[1] οὖν ὁ Τιβέριος
ἔπαθεν ὅπερ τὴν μητέρα ἐπεποιήκει, πλὴν καθ'
ὅσον αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδενὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνης
διαθηκῶν ἀπήλλαξε, τὰ δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταλει-
φθέντα πᾶσι πλὴν τοῦ ἐγγόνου αὐτοῦ ἀπεδόθη.
ἀφ' οὗπερ κατάδηλον οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐγένετο ὅτι
διὰ τὸ παιδίον πᾶν τὸ κατὰ τὰς διαθήκας
5 αἰτίαμα συνεσκευάσθη. ἐξῆν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ
μὴ ἐκφῆναί σφας (οὐ γάρ που τὰ γεγραμ-
μένα ἠγνόησεν)· ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοί τε αὐτὰ ᾔδεσαν,
καὶ ἔμελλεν ἐκ μὲν τοῦ αὐτὸς[2] ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἡ
βουλὴ τὴν αἰτίαν, ὥς γε καὶ ἐδόκει, λήψεσθαι,
ἀνατρέψαι μᾶλλον αὐτὰς δι' ἐκείνης ἢ συγκρύψαι
2 ἠθέλησε. πρὸς δὲ τὰ καταλειφθέντα ὑπ'[3] αὐτοῦ
πάντα, ὡς καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ δή, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις
ἀποδοὺς μεγαλοψυχίας τινὰ δόξαν παρὰ τοῖς
πολλοῖς ἐκτήσατο. τούς τε οὖν δορυφόρους
εὐθὺς γυμνασίαν ποιουμένους θεασάμενος μετὰ
τῆς γερουσίας, τάς τε καταλειφθείσας σφίσι

[1] ταὐτὸ Reim., τοῦτα M.
[2] αὐτὸς Oddey, ὁ αὔγουστος M.

been of sound mind, as shown by the fact that he had permitted a mere boy to rule over them, who did not yet possess the right even to enter the senate. Thus Gaius at the time promptly deprived the lad of the throne, and later, in spite of having adopted him, he put him to death. It availed naught that Tiberius in his will had expressed the same purpose in a number of ways, as if this would lend it some force, nor yet that it had all been read at this time by Macro in the senate. But, of course, no injunction can have any weight against the ingratitude or the might of one's successors. Thus Tiberius suffered the same treatment that he had accorded to his mother, with this difference only, that, whereas he had discharged none of the obligations imposed by her will in the case of anybody, his bequests were paid to all the beneficiaries except his grandson. This, in particular, made it perfectly plain that the whole fault found with the will had been invented on account of the lad. Gaius, it is true, need not have published it, as he surely was not unacquainted with the contents; but inasmuch as many knew what was in it, and it seemed probable that he himself in the one case or the senate in the other would be blamed for its suppression, he chose rather to have it overthrown by the senators than to keep it concealed. At the same time, by paying all the bequests of Tiberius, as if they were his own, to every one else, he gained with the multitude a certain reputation for generosity. Thus, in company with the senate, he inspected the Pretorians at drill and distributed to them the money that had been A.D. 37

[3] ὑπ Reim., ἀπ' M.

κατὰ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας δραχμὰς διένειμε
2 καὶ ἑτέρας τοσαύτας προσεπέδωκε· καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
τάς τε πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ χιλίας
μυριάδας (τοσαῦται γὰρ αὐτῷ κατελείφθησαν)
καὶ προσέτι τὰς ἑξήκοντα κατ' ἄνδρα δραχμάς,
ἃς ἐπὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐσγραφῇ οὐκ
εἰλήφεσαν, μετὰ τόκου πεντεκαίδεκα ἄλλων
3 δραχμῶν ἀπέδωκε. τοῖς τε γὰρ ἀστικοῖς καὶ
τοῖς νυκτοφύλαξι, τοῖς τε ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκ
τοῦ καταλόγου οὖσιν, εἴ τέ τι ἄλλο στράτευμα
πολιτικὸν ἐν τοῖς μικροτέροις τείχεσιν ἦν, τὰ
καταλειφθέντα διέλυσε, τοῦτ' ἔστι τοῖς μὲν ἀστι-
κοῖς ἀνὰ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν δραχμάς,
τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἅπασι πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα.
4 τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τὰς τῆς Λιουίας δια-
θήκας ἔπραξε· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα πάντα ἀπήλλαξε.
καὶ εἴπερ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ χρήματα δεόντως ἀνα-
λώκει, μεγαλόνους τε ἂν καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴς εἶναι
ἔδοξεν. ἔστι μὲν[1] γὰρ ὅτε φοβηθεὶς καὶ τὸν
δῆμον καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ταῦτ' ἐποίησε, τὸ δὲ
δὴ πλεῖστον ἀπὸ γνώμης· οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς ἄλλοις
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἰδιώταις, οὐχ ὅπως τὰ παρὰ τοῦ
Τιβερίου ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῆς προτήθης δωρη-
5 θέντα διέλυσε. νῦν δὲ καὶ ἐς ὀρχηστάς (αὐτίκα
γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπανήγαγε) καὶ ἐς ἵππους τούς τε
μονομάχους καὶ τἆλλα τὰ τοιουτότροπα ἀπλή-
στως δαπανήσας τούς τε θησαυροὺς μεγάλους
γενομένους διὰ βραχυτάτου ἐξεκένωσε, καὶ αὐτὸν
προσεξήλεγξεν ὅτι εὐχερείᾳ τέ τινι καὶ ἀκρισίᾳ

[1] μὲν supplied by Bk.

bequeathed them, amounting to a thousand sesterces apiece; and he added as much more on his own account. To the people he paid over the forty-five millions bequeathed to them, and, in addition, the two hundred and forty sesterces apiece which they had failed to receive on the occasion of his assuming the *toga virilis*, together with interest amounting to sixty sesterces. He also paid the bequests to the city troops, to the night-watch, to those of the regular army outside of Italy, and to any other army of citizens that was in the smaller forts, the city guard receiving five hundred sesterces per man, and all the others three hundred. He behaved in this same way also in regard to Livia's will, executing all its provisions. And if he had only spent the rest of the money in a fitting manner, he would have been regarded as a generous and munificent ruler. It was, to be sure, his fear of the people and the soldiers that in some instances led him to make these gifts, but in general they were made on principle; for he paid the bequests not only of Tiberius but also of his great-grandmother,[1] as well those left to private citizens as the public ones. As it was, however, he lavished boundless sums upon actors (whose recall[2] he at once brought about), upon horses, upon gladiators, and everything of the sort; and thus in the briefest space of time he exhausted the large sums of money that had accumulated in the treasury and at the same time convicted himself of having made the earlier gifts, also, as the result of an easy-going temper and lack of A.D. 37

[1] Livia.
[2] They had been banished by Tiberius; cf. lvii. 21, 3.

6 καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐπεποιήκει. πέντε[1] γοῦν μυριάδας μυριάδων καὶ πεντακοσίας καὶ ἑπτακισχιλίας, ὡς δὲ ἕτεροι, ὀκτώ τε καὶ δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας τεθησαυρισμένας εὑρὼν οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ τρίτον ἔτος μέρος ἀπ' αὐτῶν τι διέσωσεν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς τῷ ἑτέρῳ παμπόλλων προσεδεήθη.

3 Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ τρόπῳ καὶ ἐς τἆλλα πάντα ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐχρῆτο. δημοκρατικώτατός τε γὰρ εἶναι τὰ πρῶτα δόξας, ὥστε μήτε τῷ δήμῳ ἢ τῇ γε βουλῇ γράψαι τι μήτε[2] τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν ἀρχικῶν προσθέσθαι τι, μοναρχικώτατος ἐγένετο,
2 ὥστε πάντα ὅσα ὁ Αὔγουστος ἐν τοσούτῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνῳ μόλις καὶ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον ψηφισθέντα οἱ ἐδέξατο, ὧν ἔνια ὁ Τιβέριος οὐδ' ὅλως προσήκατο, ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ λαβεῖν. πλὴν γὰρ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπικλήσεως οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἀνεβάλετο·[3] καὶ ἐκείνην δὲ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν προσεκτή-
3 σατο. μοιχικώτατός[4] τε ἀνδρῶν γεγενημένος, καὶ γυναῖκα μίαν μὲν ἐκδιδομένην ἀνδρὶ ἁρπάσας, ἄλλας δὲ συνοικούσας τισὶν ἀποσπάσας, ἔπειτα αὐτὰς πλὴν μιᾶς ἐμίσησε· πάντως δ' ἂν καὶ ἐκείνην ἤχθηρεν, εἰ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐβεβιώκει. ἔς τε τὴν μητέρα καὶ ἐς τὰς ἀδελφὰς[5] τήν τε τήθην τὴν Ἀντωνίαν πλεῖστα ὅσα εὐσεβῶς ποι-
4 ήσας—ταύτην τε γὰρ Αὐγουστάν τε εὐθὺς καὶ ἱέρειαν τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἀποδείξας πάντα αὐτῇ

[1] For πέντε Xyl. suggested ἕξ, which would make the sum the same as given by Suet., *Gai.* 37 (*vicies ac septies millies sestertium* = 2,700,000,000 sesterces).

[2] τι μήτε cod. Peir., τιμῆι τε M.

[3] ἀνεβάλετο cod. Peir., ἀνεβάλλετο M.

[4] μοιχικώτατός cod. Peir. Xiph. Zon., μοιχιλώτατός M.

[5] τὰς ἀδελφὰς Xiph. Zon., τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς M cod. Peir.

judgment. At all events he had found in the treasury 2,300,000,000 or, according to others, 3,300,000,000 sesterces,[1] and yet did not make any part of it last into the third year, but in his very second year found himself in need of vast sums in addition. A.D. 37

He went through this same process of deterioration, too, in almost all other respects. Thus, he had seemed at first most democratic, to such a degree, in fact, that he would send no letters either to the people or to the senate nor assume any of the imperial titles; yet he became most autocratic, so that he took in one day all the honours which Augustus had with difficulty been induced to accept, and then only as they were voted to him one at a time during the long extent of his reign, some of which indeed Tiberius had refused to accept at all. Indeed, he postponed none of them except the title of Father,[2] and even that he acquired after no long time. Though he had proved himself the most libidinous of men, had seized one woman at the very moment of her marriage,[3] and had dragged others from their husbands,[4] he afterwards came to hate them all save one; and he would certainly have detested her, had he lived longer. Towards his mother, his sisters, and his grandmother Antonia he conducted himself at first in the most dutiful manner possible. His grandmother he immediately saluted as Augusta, and appointed her to be priestess of Augustus, granting to her at once all the privileges

[1] See note on Greek.
[2] *Pater patriae*, text.
[3] See chap. 8, 7.
[4] See chap. 12, 1.

*καθάπαξ, ὅσα ταῖς ἀειπαρθένοις ὑπάρχει, ἔδωκε,
καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς ταῦτά τε τὰ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων
καὶ τὸ τὰς ἱπποδρομίας οἱ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ προεδρίᾳ*[1]
*συνθεᾶσθαι, τό τε τάς τε εὐχὰς τὰς κατ᾽ ἔτος
ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων ὑπέρ τε
ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ δημοσίου ποιουμένας καὶ
τοὺς ὅρκους τοὺς ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ φέροντας*
5 *καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ὁμοίως γίγνεσθαι ἔνειμε· τά τε
ὀστᾶ τά τε τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν
ἀποθανόντων αὐτός τε πλεύσας καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτο-
χειρίᾳ ἀνελόμενος ἐκόμισε καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ Αὐγού-
στου μνῆμα κατέθετο, τὸ ἱμάτιον τὸ περιπόρφυρον
ἐνδὺς καὶ ῥαβδούχοις τισὶν ὥσπερ ἐν ἐπινικίοις*
6 *κοσμηθείς· τά τε ψηφισθέντα κατ᾽ αὐτῶν πάντα
ἀπήλειψε, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσαντάς σφισι
πάντας ἐκόλασε, τούς τε φεύγοντας δι᾽ αὐτοὺς
κατήγαγε—ταῦτ᾽ οὖν ποιήσας ἀνοσιώτατος ἀνθρώ-
πων καὶ περὶ τὴν τήθην καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς
ἐγένετο· ἐκείνην τε γὰρ ἐπιτιμήσασάν τι αὐτῷ
ἐς ἀνάγκην ἑκουσίου θανάτου κατέστησε, καὶ τὰς
ἀδελφὰς πάσας διαφθείρας ἐς νῆσον τὰς δύο*
7 *κατέκλεισεν· ἡ γὰρ τρίτη προαπέθανε. τόν τε
Τιβέριον αὐτόν, ὃν καὶ πάππον προσωνόμαζε,
τῶν αὐτῶν τῷ Αὐγούστῳ τιμῶν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς
τυχεῖν ἀξιώσας, ἔπειτ᾽ ἐπειδὴ μὴ παραχρῆμα
ἐψηφίσθησαν (οὔτε γὰρ τιμῆσαι αὐτὸν ὑπομέ-
νοντες οὔτ᾽ ἀτιμάσαι θαρσοῦντες, ἅτε μηδέπω
τὴν τοῦ νεανίσκου γνώμην σαφῶς εἰδότες, ἐς
τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ πάντα ἀνεβάλλοντο),
οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ πλὴν τῇ δημοσίᾳ ταφῇ ἤγηλε,*

[1] προεδρίᾳ Leuncl., προσεδρείαι M.

of the Vestal Virgins. To his sisters he assigned these privileges of the Vestal Virgins, also that of witnessing the games in the Circus with him from the imperial seats, and the right to have uttered in their behalf, also, not only the prayers annually offered by the magistrates and priests for his welfare and that of the State, but also the oaths of allegiance that were sworn to his rule. He himself sailed across the sea, and with his own hands collected and brought back the bones of his mother and of his brothers who had died; and wearing the purple-bordered toga and attended by lictors, as at a triumph, he deposited their remains in the tomb of Augustus. He annulled all the measures that had been voted against them, punished all who had plotted against them, and recalled such as were in exile on their account. Yet, after doing all this, he showed himself the most impious of men toward both his grandmother and his sisters. For he forced the former to seek death by her own hand, because she had rebuked him for something; and as for his sisters, after ravishing them all he confined two of them on an island, the third having already died. He even demanded that Tiberius, whom he called grandfather, should receive from the senate the same honours as Augustus; but when these were not immediately voted (for the senators could not, on the one hand, bring themselves to honour him, nor yet, on the other hand, make bold to dishonour him, because they were not yet clearly acquainted with the character of their young master, and were consequently postponing all action until he should be present), he bestowed upon him no mark of distinction other than a public funeral, after causing A.D. 37

νυκτός τε ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐσαγαγὼν
8 καὶ ἅμα τῇ ἕῳ προθέμενος. ἐποιήσατο μὲν γὰρ
καὶ λόγους ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' οὔτι γε καὶ ἐκεῖνον
οὕτως ἐπαινῶν ὡς τοῦ τε Αὐγούστου καὶ τοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ τὸν δῆμον ἀναμιμνήσκων καὶ ἑαυτὸν
αὐτοῖς παρακατατιθέμενος.

4 Οὕτω γὰρ καὶ πρὸς πάντα ἐναντίος ἐπεφύκει
ὥστε τὴν μὲν ἀσέλγειαν καὶ τὴν μιαιφονίαν
αὐτοῦ, ἐφ' οἷσπερ καὶ διέβαλλεν αὐτόν, οὐ μόνον
ἐζήλωσεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερέβαλεν, ὧν δὲ δὴ ἐπῄνει
2 οὐδὲν ἐμιμήσατο. πρῶτός τε ὑβρίσας αὐτὸν καὶ
πρῶτος λοιδορήσας, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκ
τούτου χαριεῖσθαί οἱ νομίσαντας προπετεστέρᾳ
παρρησίᾳ χρήσασθαι, ἔπειτα καὶ ἐνεκωμίαζε καὶ
ἐσέμνυνεν, ὥστε καὶ κολάσαι τινὰς ἐφ' οἷς εἰρή-
κεσαν. καὶ ἐκείνους τε ἅμα ὡς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ
Τιβερίου διὰ τὰς βλασφημίας, καὶ τοὺς ἐπαινοῦν-
3 τάς πῃ αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ φίλους, ἐμίσει. τά τε τῆς
ἀσεβείας ἐγκλήματα παύσας πλείστους ὅσους
ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀπώλεσε. καὶ τοῖς συστᾶσιν ἐπί
τε τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν μητέρα τούς τε
ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ τήν τε ὀργὴν ἀφείς, ὡς ἔλεγε,
καὶ τὰ γράμματα αὐτῶν καταφλέξας, παμπλη-
θεῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε· διέφθειρε μὲν γὰρ ὡς
ἀληθῶς γράμματά τινα, οὐ μέντοι κἀκεῖνα τὰ
αὐτόχειρα τὰ[1] τὸν ἀκριβῆ ἔλεγχον ἔχοντα, ἀλλὰ
4 ἀντίγραφα αὐτῶν ποιήσας. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις
εἰκόνας τε ἀπαγορεύσας κατ' ἀρχὰς μηδένα αὐτοῦ[2]
ἱστάναι, καὶ ἐς ἀγαλμάτων ποίησιν προεχώρησε,

[1] τὰ supplied by Rk.
[2] αὑτοῦ Bk., αὐτοῦ M.

the body to be brought into the city by night and laid out at daybreak. And though he delivered a speech over it, he did not say so much in praise of Tiberius as he did to remind the people of Augustus and Germanicus and incidentally to commend himself to them. A.D. 37

For Gaius invariably went so by contraries in every matter, that he not only emulated but even surpassed his predecessor's licentiousness and bloodthirstiness, for which he used to censure him, whereas of the qualities he praised in the other he imitated not one. Though he had been the first to insult him and the first to abuse him, so that others, thinking to please him in this way, indulged in rather reckless freedom of speech, he later lauded and magnified Tiberius, even going so far as to punish some for what they had said. These, as enemies of the former emperor, he hated for their abusive remarks; and he hated equally those who in any way praised Tiberius, as being the other's friends. Though he put an end to the charges of *maiestas*, he nevertheless made these the cause of a great many persons' downfall. Again, though, according to his own account, he had given up his anger against those who had conspired against his father and mother and brothers, and even burned their letters, he yet put to death great numbers of them on the strength of those letters. He did, it is true, actually destroy some letters, but they were not the originals containing the absolute proof, but rather copies that he had made. Furthermore, though he at first forbade any one to set up images of him, he even went on to manufacture statues himself; and though he once requested the annulment of a decree ordering sacrifices to be offered to

καὶ ψηφισθέν ποτε τῇ τύχῃ αὐτοῦ θύεσθαι παρέμενος, ὥστε καὶ ἐς στήλην αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἐγγραφῆναι, καὶ ναοὺς ἑαυτῷ καὶ θυσίας ὡς καὶ θεῷ γίγνεσθαι
5 ἐκέλευσε. πλήθει τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐρημίᾳ αὖ ἔχαιρεν, αἰτούμενός τέ τι καὶ μὴ αἰτούμενος αὖ ὠργίζετο. ὀξυτατά τε πρὸς πράξεις τινὰς ἐφέρετο, καὶ νωθέστατα ἔστιν ἃς[1] αὐτῶν μετεχειρίζετο. τά τε χρήματα καὶ ἀφειδέστατα ἀνήλισκε καὶ ῥυπαρώτατα ἠργυρολόγει. τοῖς τε θωπεύουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς παρρησιαζομένοις τι καὶ ἤχθετο
6 ὁμοίως καὶ ἥδετο. καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν μεγάλα ἀδικήσαντας οὐκ ἐκόλασε, πολλοὺς δὲ μηδὲ[2] δόξαντας[3] ἀπέσφαξε. τῶν τε ἑταίρων τοὺς μὲν ὑπερεκολάκευε τοὺς δὲ ὑπερύβριζεν. ὥστε μηδένα μήθ'[4] ὅ τι εἰπεῖν μήθ' ὅ τι ποιῆσαι χρὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰδέναι, ἀλλ' ὅσοι τι καὶ κατώρθωσαν, ἐκ συντυχίας μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμης τυχεῖν αὐτοῦ.

5 Τοιούτῳ μὲν τότε αὐτοκράτορι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι παρεδόθησαν, ὥστε τὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἔργα, καίπερ χαλεπώτατα δόξαντα γεγονέναι, τοσοῦτον παρὰ τὰ τοῦ Γαΐου ὅσον τὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου παρ' ἐκεῖνα
2 παρενεγκεῖν. Τιβέριος μὲν γὰρ αὐτός τε ἦρχε καὶ ὑπηρέταις τοῖς ἄλλοις πρός γε τὸ αὑτοῦ βούλημα ἐχρῆτο, Γάιος δὲ ἤρχετο μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἁρματηλατούντων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὁπλομαχούντων, ἐδούλευε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὀρχησταῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἔχουσι· τὸν γοῦν Ἀπελλῆν τὸν εὐδοκιμώτατον τῶν τότε τραγῳδῶν

[1] ἃς St., ἃ M Xiph. cod. Peir.
[2] μηδὲ M, μηδὲν cod. Peir. Zon., καὶ μηδὲν Xiph.
[3] δόξαντας Polak, ἀδικήσαντας M.

his Fortune, and even caused this action of his to be A.D. 37
inscribed on a tablet, he afterwards ordered temples to be erected and sacrifices to be offered to himself as to a god. He delighted by turns in vast throngs of men and in solitude; he grew angry if requests were preferred, and again if they were not preferred. He would display the keenest enthusiasm about various projects, and then carry out certain of them in the most indolent fashion. He would spend money most unsparingly, and at the same time show a most sordid spirit in exacting it. He was alike irritated and pleased, both with those who flattered him and with those who spoke their mind frankly. Many who were guilty of great crimes he neglected to punish, and many who had not even incurred any suspicion of wrong-doing he slew. His associates he either flattered to excess or abused to excess. As a result, no one knew either what to say or how to act toward him, but all who met with any success in this respect gained it as the result of chance rather than of shrewd judgment.

This was the kind of emperor into whose hands the Romans were then delivered. Hence the deeds of Tiberius, though they were felt to have been very harsh, were nevertheless as far superior to those of Gaius as the deeds of Augustus were to those of his successor. For Tiberius always kept the power in his own hands and used others as agents for carrying out his wishes; whereas Gaius was ruled by the charioteers and gladiators, and was the slave of the actors and others connected with the stage. Indeed, he always kept Apelles, the most famous of the

[1] μήθ' Xiph. cod. Peir., μηδ' M.

3 καὶ ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ συνόντα οἱ ἀεὶ εἶχε. κἀκ τούτου χωρὶς μὲν αὐτὸς χωρὶς δὲ ἐκεῖνοι, πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν[1] ἄνθρωποι τοιοῦτοι δυνηθέντες τι τολμήσειαν, ἐπ' ἐξουσίας ἐποίουν. καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπιτήδευσιν αὐτῶν φέροντα αὐτός τε πολυτελέστατα ἐπὶ πάσῃ προφάσει καὶ διετίθει καὶ καθίστατο καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τούς τε ὑπάτους ποιεῖν ἠνάγκαζεν, ὥστε καθ' ἑκάστην
4 ὀλίγου ἡμέραν πάντως τι τοιοῦτον ἄγεσθαι. καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα θεατὴς καὶ ἀκροατὴς ἐγίγνετο, συνεσπούδαζέ τέ τισι καὶ ἀντεστασίαζεν ὥσπερ τις ἐκ τοῦ ὁμίλου ὤν· καί ποτε δυσκολάνας τι τοῖς ἀντικαθεστηκόσιν οὐκ ἀπήντησεν ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν. προϊόντος δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἐς ζήλωμα καὶ ἐς ἀγώνισμα πολλῶν προῆλθεν·
5 ἁρματά τε γὰρ ἤλασε καὶ ἐμονομάχησεν ὀρχήσει τε ἐχρήσατο καὶ τραγῳδίαν ὑπεκρίνατο. καὶ ταῦτα μέν που ἀεὶ ἐποίει, ἅπαξ δέ ποτε τοὺς πρώτους τῆς γερουσίας σπουδῇ νυκτὸς ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἀναγκαῖόν τι βούλευμα μεταπεμψάμενος ὠρχήσατο.

6 Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ ἔτει ἐν ᾧ ὅ τε Τιβέριος ἐτελεύτησε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀντικατέστη, πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς βουλευτάς, παρόντων ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ ἱππέων τοῦ τε δήμου τινῶν, πολλὰ ἐκολάκευσε, τήν τε γὰρ ἀρχὴν κοινώσειν σφίσι καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν καὶ ἐκείνοις ἀρέσῃ ποιήσειν ὑπέσχετο, καὶ υἱὸς καὶ τρόφιμος αὐτῶν λέγων
2 εἶναι. ἦγε δὲ πέμπτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος, ἡμερῶν τεσσάρων καὶ μηνῶν πέντε ἐπιδέον.[2] ἔπειτα τοὺς ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ ὄντας ἀπέλυσεν, ὧν εἷς ἦν Κύιντος Πομπώνιος ἑπτὰ ὅλοις ἔτεσιν ἐν τῷ

tragedians of that day, with him even in public. A.D. 37
Thus he by himself and they by themselves did without let or hindrance all that such persons would naturally dare to do when given power. Everything that pertained to their art he arranged and settled on the slightest pretext in the most lavish manner, and he compelled the praetors and the consuls to do the same, so that almost every day some performance of the kind was sure to be given. At first he was but a spectator and listener at these and would take sides for or against various performers like one of the crowd; and one time, when he was vexed with those of opposing tastes, he did not go to the spectacle. But as time went on, he came to imitate, and to contend in many events, driving chariots, fighting as a gladiator, giving exhibitions of pantomimic dancing, and acting in tragedy. So much for his regular behaviour. And once he sent an urgent summons at night to the leading men of the senate, as if for some important deliberation, and then danced before them.

In the year that Tiberius died and Gaius succeeded to the rule, he at first showed great deference to the senators on an occasion when knights and also some of the populace were present at their meeting. He promised to share his power with them and to do whatever would please them, calling himself their son and ward. He was then twenty-five years of age, lacking five months and four days. After this he freed those who were in prison, among them Quintus Pomponius, who for seven whole years after

[1] ὅσα ἂν Zon., ὅσα M.
[2] ἐπιδέον Bs., ἐπιδέων M, ἀποδέον Xiph.

οἰκήματι μεθ' ὑπατείαν κακωθείς· τά τε ἐγκλή-
ματα τῆς ἀσεβείας, οἷσπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα
3 πονουμένους σφᾶς ἑώρα, κατέλυσε, καὶ τὰ γράμ-
ματα τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅσα ὁ Τιβέριος κατελε-
λοίπει, συννήσας, ὥς γε ἐσκήπτετο, κατέκαυσεν,
εἰπὼν ὅτι "τοῦτ' ἐποίησα ἵνα μηδ' ἂν πάνυ
ἐθελήσω ποτὲ διά τε τὴν μητέρα καὶ διὰ τοὺς
ἀδελφοὺς μνησικακῆσαί τινι, δυνηθῶ αὐτὸν τιμω-
4 ρήσασθαι." ἐπαινούμενός τε ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐπειδὴ
καὶ ἠλπίζετο παντὸς μᾶλλον ἀληθεύσειν ἅτε
μηδὲν διπλοῦν ὑπὸ τῆς νεότητος ἢ φρονεῖν ἢ λέγειν
δύνασθαι νομιζόμενος, προσεπηύξησε τὰς ἐλπίδας
αὐτῶν τά τε Κρόνια ἐπὶ πέντε ἡμέρας ἑορτάζεσθαι
κελεύσας, καὶ ὀβολὸν παρ' ἑκάστου τῶν τὸ σιτη-
ρέσιον φερόντων, ἀντὶ τῆς δραχμῆς ἣν ἐς εἰκόνων
ποίησιν ἐδίδοσαν αὐτῷ, λαβών.
5 Ἐψηφίσθη μὲν οὖν καὶ παραχρῆμα αὐτὸν
ὑπατεῦσαι, καταλυθέντων τοῦ τε Πρόκλου καὶ
τοῦ Νιγρίνου τῶν τότε ἀρχόντων, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
κατ' ἔτος ὑπατεύειν· οὐ μὴν καὶ προσεδέξατο
αὐτά, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνοι τὸν ἔκμηνον ἐς ὃν ἀπε-
δεδείχατο διῆρξαν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπάτευσε,
6 τὸν Κλαύδιον τὸν θεῖον προσλαβών· οὗτος γὰρ
ἔν τε τοῖς ἱππεῦσι μέχρι τότε ἐξεταζόμενος, καὶ
πρεσβευτὴς πρὸς τὸν Γάιον μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Τιβερίου
θάνατον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱππάδος πεμφθείς, τότε πρῶτον,

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[1] The Greek word is "obol," the smallest monetary unit among the Greeks, as the as was among the Romans. Strictly, the obol was the sixth part of a drachma (= denarius), and so would be more nearly the equivalent of the sestertius.

his consulship had been kept in jail and maltreated. He did away with the complaints for *maiestas*, which he saw were the commonest cause of the prisoners' present plight, and he heaped up and burned (or so he pretended) the papers pertaining to their cases that Tiberius had left, declaring: "I have done this in order that, no matter how strongly I may some day desire to harbour malice against any one for my mother's and my brothers' sake, I shall nevertheless be unable to punish him." For this he was commended, as it was expected that he would be truthful above all else; for by reason of his youth it was not thought possible that he could be guilty of duplicity in thought or speech. And he increased their hopes still further by ordering that the celebration of the Saturnalia should extend over five days, as well as by accepting from each of those who received the dole of grain only an as[1] instead of the denarius that they were wont to give the emperor for the manufacture of images.[2] A.D. 37

It was voted that he should become consul at once by the removal of Proculus and Nigrinus, who were then holding the office, and that thereafter he should be consul every year. He did not accept these proposals, however, but instead waited until the actual incumbents had completed the six-months' term for which they had been appointed, and then became consul himself, taking Claudius, his uncle, as colleague. The latter, who had previously belonged to the knights and after the death of Tiberius had been sent as an envoy to Gaius in behalf of that order, now for the first time, though he was forty-

[2] *Sigillaria*, small figures of baked clay given as presents at the Saturnalia.

καίπερ ἓξ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη βεβιωκώς, καὶ
7 ὑπάτευσεν ἅμα καὶ ἐβούλευσεν. ὁ δ' οὖν Γάιος
ταῦτά τε ἐπιεικῶς ποιῆσαι ἔδοξε, καὶ τοιαῦτα ἐπιβὰς τῆς ὑπατείας ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἐδημηγόρησε, τοῦ τε Τιβερίου καθ' ἕκαστον ὧν ᾐτιάζετο κατατρέχων καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ πολλὰ ἐπαγγελλόμενος, ὥστε τὴν γερουσίαν, φοβηθεῖσαν μὴ μεταβάληται,[1] δόγμα ποιῆσαι κατ' ἔτος αὐτὰ ἀναγιγνώσκεσθαι.

7 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὸ ἡρῷον τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ὡσίωσε, τὴν ἐπινίκιον στολὴν ἐνδύς. καὶ οἵ τε εὐγενέστατοι παῖδες, ὅσοι γε[2] καὶ ἀμφιθαλεῖς ἦσαν, μετὰ παρθένων ὁμοίων τὸν ὕμνον ᾖσαν, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ σὺν ταῖς γαμεταῖς σφων ὅ τε δῆμος
2 εἱστιάθη, θέαι τε παντοδαπαὶ ἐγένοντο. τά τε
γὰρ τῆς μουσικῆς ἐχόμενα ἐσήχθη, καὶ ἵπποι δύο ἡμέραις ἠγωνίσαντο, τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ εἰκοσάκις, τῇ δ' ὑστέρᾳ καὶ τετταρακοντάκις[3] διὰ τὸ τὰ
3 γενέθλια αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην εἶναι· ἦν γὰρ
ἡ τελευταία τοῦ Αὐγούστου. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων πολλῶν, ὥς που καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ, ἐποίησε πρότερον γὰρ οὐ πλείω τῶν δέκα ἄθλων ἐτίθετο, τότε δὲ καὶ ἄρκτους τετρακοσίας μεθ'
4 ἑτέρων Λιβυκῶν θηρίων ἴσων ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ οἵ
τε εὐγενεῖς παῖδες τὴν Τροίαν ἵππευσαν, καὶ τὸ ἅρμα τὸ πομπικὸν ἐφ' οὗ ἤχθη ἓξ ἵπποι εἵλκυσαν· ὃ μηπώποτε ἐγεγόνει. οὐ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς

1 μεταβάληται Xiph., μεταβάλληται M.
2 γε H. Steph., τε M.
3 τετταρακοντάκις Bs., τετράκις M.

six years of age, became a consul and a senator— A.D. 37
both at the same time. In all this, now, the conduct of Gaius appeared satisfactory, and in harmony with this was the speech which he delivered in the senate on entering upon his consulship. In it he denounced Tiberius for each and every one of the crimes of which he was commonly accused and made many promises regarding his own conduct, with the result that the senate, fearing that he might change his mind, issued a decree that this speech should be read every year.

Soon after this, clad in the triumphal dress, he dedicated the shrine of Augustus. Boys of the noblest families, both of whose parents must be living, together with maidens similarly circumstanced, sang the hymn, the senators with their wives and also the people were banqueted, and there were spectacles of all sorts. For not only all kinds of musical entertainments were given, but also horse-races took place on two days, twenty heats the first day and forty the second, because the latter was the emperor's birthday, being the last day of August. And he exhibited the same number of events on many other occasions, as often as it suited him; previously to this, it should be explained, not more than ten events had been usual. He also caused four hundred bears to be slain on the present occasion together with an equal number of wild beasts from Libya. The boys of noble birth performed the equestrian game of "Troy,"[1] and six horses drew the triumphal car on which he rode, something that had never been done before. In the races he did not give the signals himself to the

[1] See note on Vol. IV., p. 255.

ἡνιόχοις ἀπεσήμηνεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ προεδρίας[1] μετά τε
τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ μετὰ τῶν συνιερέων τῶν Αὐγου-
5 στείων συνεθεάσατο. ὅπως τε μηδεμία[2] τινὶ τοῦ
μὴ συμφοιτᾶν ἐς τὰ θέατρα πρόφασις εἴη (καὶ
γὰρ ἤσχαλλε δεινῶς εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἀπελείπετο ἢ
καὶ μεσούσης τῆς θέας ἐξανίστατο), τάς τε δίκας
ἁπάσας ἀνεβάλετο[3] καὶ τὰ πένθη πάντα ἐπέσχεν,
ὥστε καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ ταῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐστερη-
μέναις γαμεῖσθαι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου,
6 ἄν γε μὴ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχωσιν, ἐξεῖναι. καὶ ἵνα μετὰ
ῥᾳστώνης βαδίζοιεν καὶ μὴ πράγματα ἔχοιεν
ἀσπαζόμενοί τινες αὐτόν (πρότερον γὰρ καὶ ἐν ταῖς
ὁδοῖς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα οἱ συντυγχάνοντές οἱ προσ-
7 ηγόρευον), ἀπεῖπε μηδένα ἔτι τοῦτο ποιεῖν. καὶ
ἐξῆν καὶ ἀνυποδήτοις τοῖς[4] βουλομένοις θεάσα-
σθαί, νομιζόμενον μέν που ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου
καὶ δικάζειν τινὰς ἐν τῷ θέρει οὕτως, καὶ πολλάκις
καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐν ταῖς θεριναῖς πανηγύ-
ρεσι γενόμενον, ἐκλειφθὲν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου.
8 τά τε προσκεφάλαια τοῖς βουλευταῖς, ὅπως μὴ
ἐπὶ γυμνῶν τῶν σανίδων καθίζωνται, πρῶτον
τότε ὑπετέθη· καὶ πίλους σφίσι τὸν Θετταλικὸν
τρόπον ἐς τὰ θέατρα φορεῖν, ἵνα μὴ τῇ ἡλιάσει
ταλαιπωρῶνται, ἐπετράπη. καὶ εἴγε ποτὲ ἐς
ὑπερβολὴν ἐπέφλεξε, τῷ διριβιτωρίῳ[5] ἀντὶ τοῦ
9 θεάτρου ἰκριωμένῳ ἐχρῶντο. ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐν τῇ
ὑπατείᾳ ἔπραξε, δύο τε μησὶ καὶ ἡμέραις δώδεκα

[1] προεδρίας Rk., προέδρας M.
[2] μηδεμία R. Steph., μηδὲ μιᾷ M.
[3] ἀνεβάλετο Bk., ἀνεβάλλετο M.
[4] τοῖς supplied by Rk.
[5] διριβιτωρίῳ Bk., διριβετωρίῳ M.

charioteers, but viewed the spectacle from a front seat with his sisters and his fellow-priests of the Augustan order.[1] He was always greatly displeased if any one stayed away from the theatre or left in the middle of the performance, and so, in order that no one should have an excuse for failing to attend, he postponed all law-suits and suspended all mourning. And thus it came about that women who had lost their husbands were allowed to marry before the regular time, unless they were pregnant. Furthermore, in order to enable people to come without formality and to save them the trouble of greeting him (for before this all who met the emperor in the streets always greeted him), he forbade them to greet him thus in the future. Any who wished might come barefoot to the games; in fact, from very ancient times it had been customary for those who held court in the summer to do this, and the practice had been frequently followed by Augustus at the summer festivals, but had been abandoned by Tiberius. It was at this time that the senators first began sitting upon cushions instead of upon the bare boards, and that they were allowed to wear hats at the theatres in the Thessalian fashion, to avoid discomfort from the sun's rays. And at any time that the sun was particularly hot, they used instead of the theatre the Diribitorium, which was furnished with tiers of benches. These were the acts of Gaius during his consulship, which he held A.D. 37

[1] The *Sodales Augustales.*

αὐτὴν σχών· τὸν γὰρ λοιπὸν τοῦ[1] ἑξαμήνου χρόνον τοῖς προαποδεδειγμένοις ἐς αὐτὴν ἀπέδωκε.

8 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο νοσήσας αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἀπέθανε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Τιβέριον, καίπερ ἔς τε τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐσγραφέντα καὶ τῆς νεότητος προκριθέντα καὶ τέλος ἐσποιηθέντα, ἀνεχρήσατο, ἔγκλημα αὐτῷ ἐπαγαγὼν ὡς καὶ τελευτῆσαι αὐτὸν καὶ εὐξαμένῳ καὶ προσδοκήσαντι. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἄλλους γε[2] συχ-
2 νοὺς ἐφόνευσεν. ὁ γὰρ Ἀντιόχῳ τε τῷ Ἀντιόχου τὴν Κομμαγηνήν, ἣν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἔσχε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῆς Κιλικίας δούς, καὶ Ἀγρίππαν τὸν τοῦ Ἡρώδου ἔγγονον λύσας τε (ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐδέδετο) καὶ τῇ τοῦ πάππου ἀρχῇ προστάξας, τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἢ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν οὐχ ὅτι τῶν πατρῴων ἀπεστέρησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατέσφαξε. καὶ οὐδὲ ἐπέστειλέ τι περὶ αὐτοῦ τῇ βουλῇ· ὅπερ που καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων μετὰ
3 τοῦτο πολλῶν ἐποίησεν. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ὡς καὶ τῇ ἀρρωστίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐφεδρεύσας ἀπώλετο, Πούπλιος δὲ Ἀφράνιος Ποτῖτος δημότης τε ὢν καὶ ὑπὸ μωρᾶς κολακείας οὐ μόνον ἐθελοντὴς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔνορκος, ἄν γε ὁ Γάιος σωθῇ, τελευτήσειν ὑποσχόμενος, Ἀτάνιός τέ τις Σεκοῦνδος ἱππεύς τε ὢν καὶ μονομαχήσειν ἐπαγγειλάμενος· ἀντὶ γὰρ τῶν χρημάτων ἃ ἤλπιζον παρ' αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ ἀντίψυχοί οἱ ἀποθανεῖν ἐθελήσαντες λήψεσθαι, ἀποδοῦναι

[1] τοῦ Bs., τῆς M.
[2] γε R. Steph., τε M, om. Xiph.

[1] The grandson of the emperor Tiberius.
[2] The young Tiberius is called Gaius' "brother" because they were co-heirs of the emperor Tiberius, and his "son" because he had been adopted by Gaius.

for two months and twelve days; for he surrendered the remainder of the six-months' period to the men previously designated for it. A.D. 37

After this he fell sick, but instead of dying himself he caused the death of Tiberius,[1] who had assumed the *toga virilis*, had been given the title of *Princeps Iuventutis*, and finally had been adopted into his family. The complaint made against the lad was that he had prayed and expected that Gaius would die; and he destroyed many others, too, on this same charge. Thus it came about that the same ruler who had given Antiochus, the son of Antiochus, the district of Commagene, which his father had held, and likewise the coast region of Cilicia, and had freed Agrippa, the grandson of Herod, who had been imprisoned by Tiberius, and had put him in charge of his grandfather's domain, not only deprived his own brother, or, in fact, his son,[2] of his paternal inheritance, but actually caused him to be murdered, and that without sending any communication about him to the senate. Later he took similar action in numerous other cases. So Tiberius perished on suspicion of having been watching his chance to profit from the emperor's illness. On the other hand, Publius Afranius Potitus, a plebeian, perished, because in a burst of foolhardy servility he had promised not only of his own free will but also under oath that he would give his life if only Gaius should recover; and likewise a certain Atanius Secundus, a knight, because he had announced that in the same event he would fight as a gladiator. For these men, instead of the money which they hoped to receive from him in return for offering to give their lives in exchange for his, were

τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ἠναγκάσθησαν, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιορ-
4 *κήσωσι. καὶ τούτοις μὲν αὕτη αἰτία τοῦ θανάτου*
ἐγένετο· ὁ δὲ δὴ πενθερὸς αὐτοῦ Μᾶρκος Σιλανὸς
οὔθ' ὑποσχόμενός τι οὔτε κατομόσας, ὅμως ἐπειδὴ
βαρὺς αὐτῷ ὑπό τε τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς συγ-
γενείας ἦν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο περιυβρίζετο, ἑαυτὸν
5 *κατεχρήσατο. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Τιβέριος οὕτως αὐτὸν*
ἐτίμησεν ὥστε μηδὲ[1] *ἔκκλητόν ποτε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*
δικάσαι ἐθελῆσαι, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ πάντα αὖθις τὰ
τοιαῦτα ἐγχειρίσαι· ὁ δὲ δὴ Γάιος τά τε ἄλλα
ἰσχυρῶς προεπηλάκιζε, καίτοι οὕτω καλῶς περὶ
αὐτοῦ φρονῶν ὥστε καὶ χρυσοῦν αὐτὸν πρόβατον
6 *ὀνομάζειν, καὶ ὅπως μηκέτι πρῶτος ἐπιψηφίζηται,*
ἐν ᾧ που καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα ὑφ'
ἁπάντων τῶν ὑπάτων ἐτιμᾶτο, κατέλυσε τὸ πρῶ-
τόν τινα τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἢ δεύτερον, πρὸς τὸ τοῖς
τὴν γνώμην ἐπάγουσι δοκοῦν, ψηφίζεσθαι, καὶ
κατεστήσατο ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἐκείνους
ἐν τῇ τάξει τῆς ἀρχῆς ἣν ἦρξαν[2] *ἀποφαίνεσθαι.*
7 *τήν τε θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ ἐκβαλὼν ἔγημε Κορνηλίαν*
Ὀρεστίλλαν,[3] *ἣν ἥρπασεν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς γάμοις*
οὓς τῷ ἠγγυημένῳ[4] *αὐτὴν Γαΐῳ Καλπουρνίῳ*
Πίσωνι συνεώρταζε. πρὶν δὲ δύο μῆνας ἐξελθεῖν,
ἀμφοτέρους σφᾶς ὡς καὶ συγγιγνομένους ἀλλή-
8 *λοις ἐξώρισε· καὶ τῷ γε Πίσωνι δέκα δούλους*
ἐπαγαγέσθαι ἐπιτρέψας, εἶτ' ἐπειδὴ πλείονας
ᾐτήσατο, ἐφῆκεν ὅσοις ἂν ἐθελήσῃ χρήσασθαι,

[1] *μηδὲ* Xiph., *μήτε* M.
[2] *ἦρξαν* R. Steph., *ἥραξαν* M.
[3] *Ὀρεστίλλαν* Dind., *ὀρεστίναν* M Xiph. Zon.
[4] *ἠγγυημένῳ* Dind., *ἐγγεγυημένωι* M Xiph. Zon.

compelled to keep their promises, so as not to be guilty of perjury. Such, then, was the cause of these men's deaths. Again, Gaius' father-in-law, Marcus Silanus, though he had made no promise and taken no oath, nevertheless took his own life because his virtue and his relationship made him displeasing to the emperor and subjected him to extreme insult. Tiberius, it seems, had held him in such honour that he always refused to try a case on an appeal from his decision and referred all such cases back to him again; but Gaius heaped all manner of abuse upon him, even though he had such a high opinion of him that he called him a "golden sheep."[1] Now Silanus on account of his age and his rank had been accorded by all the consuls the honour of casting his vote first; and to prevent his doing so any longer, Gaius abolished the custom whereby some of the ex-consuls vote first or second according to the pleasure of those who put the question, and established the principle that such persons like the rest should cast their votes in the order in which they had held office. He furthermore put away Silanus' daughter and married Cornelia Orestilla, whom he had actually seized during the marriage festival which she was celebrating with her betrothed, Gaius Calpurnius Piso. Before two months had elapsed he banished them both, claiming that they were maintaining illicit relations with each other. He permitted Piso to take with him ten slaves, and then, when he asked for more, allowed him to employ as many as he liked, merely remarking, A.D. 37

[1] Cf. Aurel. Vict., *de Vir. Ill.* 43: *Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator Ovicula dictus est a morum clementia.*

εἰπὼν ὅτι "καὶ στρατιῶται τοσοῦτοί σοι
συνέσονται."

9 Τῷ δ' ἑξῆς ἔτει ὕπατοι Μᾶρκος τε Ἰουλιανὸς
καὶ Πούπλιος Νώνιος ἐκ τῶν προαποδεδειγμένων
ἐγένοντο. καὶ οἱ ὅρκοι περὶ μὲν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ
Τιβερίου πραχθέντων οὐκ ἐπήχθησαν, καὶ διὰ
τοῦτο οὐδὲ νῦν γίγνονται (οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅστις
αὐτὸν[1] ἐν τοῖς αὐταρχήσασιν ἐς τὴν τῆς ὁρκίας
2 νόμισιν[2] καταλέγει)· περὶ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Αὐγούστου
τοῦ τε Γαΐου τά τε ἄλλα ὥσπερ εἴθιστο, καὶ ὅτι
καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ ἐκεῖνον καὶ
τὰς ἀδελφὰς αὐτοῦ προτιμήσουσιν, ὤμοσαν, τάς
τε[3] εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ πάντων αὐτῶν ὁμοίως ἐποιήσαντο.
3 ἐν δ' οὖν τῇ νουμηνίᾳ αὐτῇ Μαχάων τις δοῦλος ἐπί
τε τὴν κλίνην τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ἐπανέβη,
κἀντεῦθεν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἀπομαντευσάμενος
κυνίδιόν τέ τι ὃ ἐσενηνόχει ἀπέκτεινε καὶ ἑαυτὸν
ἔσφαξε.

4 Γάιος δὲ καλὰ μὲν ἐπαίνου τε ἄξια τάδε ἔπραξε.
τούς τε λογισμοὺς τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων, μὴ
ἐκτεθειμένους ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ᾧ ὁ Τιβέριος ἐξεδή-
μησε, πάντας κατὰ τὸν Αὔγουστον προέγραψε·[4]
καὶ ἔμπρησίν τινα μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατα-
5 σβέσας ἐπήρκεσε τοῖς ζημιωθεῖσι. τοῦ τε τέλους
τοῦ τῶν ἱππέων ὀλιγανδροῦντος, τοὺς πρώτους ἐξ
ἁπάσης καὶ τῆς ἔξω ἀρχῆς τοῖς τε γένεσι καὶ ταῖς
περιουσίαις μεταπεμψάμενος κατελέξατο, καί τι-
σιν αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ ἐσθῆτι τῇ βουλευτικῇ, καὶ πρὶν
ἄρξαι τινὰ ἀρχὴν δι' ἧς ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν ἐσερχό-

[1] αὐτὸν Petr. Fab., αὐτῶν M.

[2] τὴν τῆς ὁρκίας νόμισιν Reim., τὴν τῆς οἰκείας νόμισιν M, τὴν ὁρκωμοσίαν Naber.

"You will have just so many soldiers, too, with you." A.D. 37

The next year, Marcus Julianus and Publius Nonius of those previously designated became consuls. The regular oaths to support the acts of Tiberius were not taken and for this reason are not in use nowadays, either; for no one reckons Tiberius among the emperors in connexion with this custom of the oaths. But as regarded the acts of Augustus and of Gaius, they took all the oaths as usual, as well as others to the effect that they would hold Gaius and his sisters in greater respect than themselves and their children; and they offered prayers for them all alike. On the very first day of the new year one Machaon, a slave, climbed upon the couch of Jupiter Capitolinus, and after uttering from there many dire prophecies, killed a little dog which he had brought in with him and then slew himself. A.D. 38

The following good and praiseworthy acts were performed by Gaius. He published, as Augustus had done, all the accounts of the public funds, which had not been made public during the time that Tiberius was away from the city. He helped the soldiers to extinguish a conflagration and rendered assistance to those who suffered loss by it. As the equestrian order was becoming reduced in numbers, he summoned the foremost men in point of family and wealth from the whole empire, even from outside of Italy, and enrolled them in the order. Some of them he even permitted to wear the senatorial

[3] τάς τε Rk., καὶ τάς τε M.
[4] προέγραψε Casaubon, προσέγραψε M.

μεθα, χρῆσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς βουλείας[1] ἐλπίδι ἔδωκε· πρότερον γὰρ μόνοις, ὡς ἔοικε, τοῖς[2] ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ φύλου γεγενημένοις τοῦτο ποιεῖν
6 ἐξῆν. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πᾶσιν ἤρεσεν· ὅτι δὲ[3] τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας τῷ τε δήμῳ καὶ τῷ πλήθει ἀπέδωκε,[4] λύσας ὅσα περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Τιβέριος ὡρίκει, καὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς ἑκατοστῆς κατέλυσε, γυμνικόν τέ τινα ἀγῶνα ποιήσας σύμβολα διέρριψε καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν
7 πλεῖστα τοῖς ἁρπάσασιν αὐτὰ διέδωκε, τῷ μὲν φαύλῳ ἐχαρίσατο, τοὺς δ' ἔμφρονας ἐλύπησε λογισαμένους ὅτι, ἐὰν[5] ἐπὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς αἱ ἀρχαὶ αὖθις γένωνται καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἐξαναλωθῇ αἵ τε εἰδικαὶ[6] πρόσοδοι παυθῶσι,[7] πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ συμβήσεται.

10 Ἐπαίτια δὲ δὴ πρὸς πάντων ὁμοίως τάδε ἐξειργάσατο. πλείστους ὅσους ὁπλομαχῆσαι ἐποίησε· καὶ γὰρ καὶ καθ' ἕνα καὶ ἀθρόους, ὥσπερ ἐν παρατάξει τινί, ἀγωνίσασθαί σφας ἠνάγκασε, παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς δὴ τοῦτο αἰτήσας,
2 ὥστε[8] καὶ ἔξω τοῦ νενομοθετημένου πάνθ' ὅσα βούλοιτο δρᾶσαι, καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι τῶν τε ἄλλων πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἓξ καὶ εἴκοσι, τοὺς μὲν τὰς οὐσίας κατεδηδοκότας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ὁπλομαχίαν ἠσκηκότας. ἦν δὲ οὐ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολλυμένων οὕτω τι δεινόν, καίπερ δεινὸν ὄν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοῖς τε φόνοις αὐτῶν ὑπερέχαιρε καὶ

[1] βουλείας Rk., βουλῆς M.
[2] τοῖς Dind., πως M.
[3] δὲ supplied by Reim.
[4] ἀπέδωκε Pflugk, ἀποδέδωκε M.
[5] ἐὰν St., κἂν M.
[6] εἰδικαὶ Bk., ἰδικαὶ M.
[7] παυθῶσι St., πανσθῶσι M.
[8] ὥστε Bk., τὸ δὲ M, τό τε Pflugk.

dress before they had held any office through which we gain admission to the senate, on the strength of their prospects of becoming members later, whereas previously only those, it appears, who had been born into the senatorial order were allowed to do this. These measures gave satisfaction to everybody; but when he put the elections once more in the hands of the people and the plebs, thereby rescinding the arrangements that Tiberius had made regarding them,[1] and abolished the tax of one per cent.,[2] and when, furthermore, he scattered tickets at a gymnastic contest that he arranged and distributed a great number of gifts to those who had secured them, these actions, though delighting the rabble, grieved the sensible, who stopped to reflect, that if the offices should fall once more into the hands of the many, and the funds on hand should be exhausted and private sources of income fail, many disasters would result. A.D. 38

The following acts of his met with the censure of everybody alike. He caused great numbers of men to fight as gladiators, forcing them to contend both singly and in groups drawn up in a kind of battle array. He had asked permission of the senate to do this, so that he was able to do anything he wished even contrary to what was provided by law, and thus put many people to death, among others twenty-six knights, some of whom had devoured their living, while others had merely practised gladiatorial combat. It was not the large number of those who perished that was so serious, though that was serious enough, but his excessive delight in their death and

[1] Cf. lviii. 20, 3–4. [2] Cf. lviii. 16, 2.

3 τῆς τοῦ αἵματος θέας ἀπλήστως εἶχεν. ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τῆς αὐτῆς ὠμότητος, ἐπιλιπόντων[1] ποτὲ τῶν τοῖς θηρίοις ἐκ καταδίκης διδομένων, ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου τοῦ τοῖς ἰκρίοις προσεστηκότος συναρπασθῆναί τέ τινας καὶ παραβληθῆναί σφισιν· καὶ ὅπως γε μήτε ἐπιβοήσασθαι μήτε αἰτιάσασθαί τι δυνηθῶσι, τὰς γλώσσας αὐτῶν
4 προαπέτεμε. τῶν τε ἱππέων τινὰ ἐπιφανῶν μονομαχῆσαί τε ὡς καὶ ὑβρίσαντα τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἀγριππῖναν ἠνάγκασε, καὶ νικήσαντα κατηγόροις παρέδωκε καὶ ἀπέσφαξε. τόν τε πατέρα αὐτοῦ μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντα ἔς τε γαλεάγραν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλους συχνούς, καθεῖρξε κἀνταῦθα
5 διέφθειρεν. ἐποίησε δὲ τοὺς ἀγῶνας τούτους τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐν τοῖς Σέπτοις, πᾶν τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο ἐξορύξας[2] καὶ ὕδατος πληρώσας, ἵνα μίαν ναῦν ἐσαγάγῃ, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἑτέρωθι, πλεῖστά τε καὶ μέγιστα οἰκοδομήματα καθελὼν καὶ ἰκρία πηξάμενος· τὸ γὰρ τοῦ Ταύρου θέατρον ὑπερεφρόνησε.
6 τούτων τε οὖν ἕνεκα καὶ διὰ τὰς δαπάνας καὶ διὰ τοὺς φόνους αἰτίαν εἶχε, καὶ ὅτι τὸν Μάκρωνα μετὰ τῆς Ἐννίας, μήτε τοῦ ταύτης ἔρωτος μήτε τῶν ἐκείνου εὐεργετημάτων, δι' ὧν τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ μόνῳ συγκατέπραξε, μνησθείς, ἔς τε ἑκουσίου δὴ θανάτου ἀνάγκην, καίπερ καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτόν οἱ προστάξας, καὶ ἐς αἰσχύνην, ἧς αὐτὸς τὸ πλεῖστον μετεῖχε, κατέστησε· προαγωγείας γὰρ ἔγκλημα αὐτῷ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις
7 ἐπήγαγε. κἀκ τούτου καὶ ἕτεροι πολλοὶ οἱ[3] μὲν

[1] ἐπιλιπόντων Xiph., ἐπιλειπόντων M cod. Peir.
[2] ἐξορύξας Bs., διορύξας M Xiph.
[3] οἱ supplied by Rk.

his insatiable desire for the sight of blood. The same trait of cruelty led him once, when there was a shortage of condemned criminals to be given to the wild beasts, to order that some of the mob standing near the benches should be seized and thrown to them; and to prevent the possibility of their making an outcry or uttering any reproaches, he first caused their tongues to be cut out. Moreover he compelled one of the prominent knights to fight in single combat on the charge of having insulted his mother Agrippina, and when the man proved victorious, handed him over to his accusers and caused him to be slain. And the man's father, though guilty of no crime, he confined in a cage, as, indeed, he had treated many others, and there put an end to him. He held these contests at first in the Saepta, after excavating the whole site and filling it with water, to enable him to bring in a single ship, but later he transferred them to another place, where he had demolished a great many large buildings and erected wooden stands; for he despised the theatre of Taurus. For all this he was censured, because of the expense and also of the bloodshed involved. He was blamed likewise for compelling Macro together with Ennia to take their own lives, remembering neither the affection of the latter nor the benefits of the former, who had, among other things, assisted him to win the throne for himself alone; nor did the fact that he had appointed Macro to govern Egypt have the slightest influence. He even involved him in a scandal, in which he himself had the greatest share, by bringing against him among other charges that of playing the pander. Thereupon many others were executed, some after A.D. 38

καταψηφισθέντες οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἁλῶναι ἐφονεύθησαν, πρόφασιν μὲν διά τε τοὺς γονέας καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ τούς τε ἄλλους τοὺς δι' ἐκείνους ἀπολομένους, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς διὰ τὰς οὐσίας· οἵ τε γὰρ θησαυροὶ ἐξανάλωντο καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ
8 ἐξήρκει. ἠλέγχοντο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν καταμαρτυρούντων σφῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων ἃ κατακεκαυκέναι ποτὲ ἔφη. καὶ ἑτέρους ἥ τε νόσος ἡ τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει οἱ συμβᾶσα καὶ ὁ τῆς Δρουσίλλης τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ θάνατος ἔφθειρε· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα, καὶ εἴ τις εἱστίασεν ἢ ἠσπάσατό τινα ἢ καὶ ἐλούσατο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις,[1] ἐκολάζετο.

11 Τῇ δὲ Δρουσίλλῃ συνῴκει μὲν Μᾶρκος Λέπιδος, παιδικά τε ἅμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐραστὴς ὤν, συνῆν δὲ καὶ ὁ Γάιος· καὶ αὐτὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν τότε ἐπῄνεσε μὲν ὁ ἀνήρ, δημοσίας δὲ ταφῆς ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἠξίωσε·
2 καὶ οἵ τε δορυφόροι μετὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντός σφων καὶ χωρὶς οἱ ἱππῆς τὸ τέλος . . .,[2] οἵ τε εὐγενεῖς παῖδες τὴν Τροίαν περὶ τὸν τάφον αὐτῆς περιίππευσαν, καί οἱ τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα τῇ γε[3] Λιουίᾳ ἐδέδοτο ἐψηφίσθη, καὶ ἵν' ἀθανατισθῇ καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον χρυσῆ ἀνατεθῇ, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Ἀφροδίσιον ἄγαλμα αὐτῆς ἰσομέτρητον
3 τῷ τῆς θεοῦ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁμοίαις τιμαῖς ἱερωθῇ, σηκός τε ἴδιος οἰκοδομηθῇ, καὶ ἱερῆς εἴκοσιν[4] οὐχ ὅτι ἄνδρες ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκες γένωνται, αἵ τε γυναῖκες αὐτήν, ὁσάκις ἂν μαρτυρῶσί τι, ὀμνύωσι, καὶ

[1] ἐκείναις supplied by Bs.
[2] Lacuna indicated by Bk., who supplied περιέδραμον; Bs. suggests τὴν πυρὰν περιέδραμον.
[3] γε Bs., τε M.
[4] ἱερῆς (ἱερεῖς) εἴκοσιν Bücheler, ἱεραῖς εἰκόσι M.

being sentenced and some even before being convicted. Nominally they were punished because of the wrongs done to his parents or to his brothers or the others who had perished on their account, but in reality it was because of their property; for the treasury had become exhausted and he never could have enough. Such persons were convicted on the evidence not only of the witnesses who appeared against them but also of the papers which he once declared he had burned. Others, again, owed their ruin to the emperor's illness of the preceding year and to the death of his sister Drusilla, since, among other things, any one who had entertained or had greeted another, or even had bathed during those days, incurred punishment. A.D. 38

Drusilla was married to Marcus Lepidus, at once the favourite and lover of the emperor, but Gaius also treated her as a concubine. When her death occurred at this time, her husband delivered the eulogy and her brother accorded her a public funeral. The Pretorians with their commander and the equestrian order by itself [ran about the pyre] and the boys of noble birth performed the equestrian exercise called "Troy" about her tomb. All the honours that had been bestowed upon Livia were voted to her, and it was further decreed that she should be deified, that a golden effigy of her should be set up in the senate-house, and that in the temple of Venus in the Forum a statue of her should be dedicated of the same size as that of the goddess and honoured by the same rites; also that a shrine of her own should be built for her and that she should have twenty priests, women as well as men; women, whenever they offered testimony, should

ἐν τοῖς γενεσίοις αὐτῆς ἑορτή τε ὁμοία τοῖς
Μεγαλησίοις ἄγηται καὶ ἡ γερουσία ἥ τε ἱππὰς
ἑστιᾶται. τότε οὖν Πάνθεά τε ὠνομάζετο καὶ
τιμῶν δαιμονίων ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἠξι-
4 οῦτο, Λίουιός τέ τις Γεμίνιος βουλευτὴς ἔς τε
τὸν οὐρανὸν αὐτὴν ἀναβαίνουσαν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς
συγγιγνομένην ἑορακέναι ὤμοσεν, ἐξώλειαν καὶ
ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς παισίν, εἰ ψεύδοιτο, ἐπαρασά-
μενος τῇ τε τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ἐπιμαρτυρίᾳ καὶ τῇ
αὐτῆς[1] ἐκείνης· ἐφ' ᾧ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας
5 ἔλαβε. τούτοις τε οὖν αὐτὴν ὁ Γάιος ἐτίμησε,
καὶ τῷ τὰς πανηγύρεις τὰς τότε ὀφειλούσας γενέ-
σθαι μήτε ἐν τῷ νενομισμένῳ χρόνῳ, πλὴν τῆς
ὁσίας ἕνεκα, μήτ' αὖθίς ποτε ποιηθῆναι. αἰτίαν
τε πάντες ὁμοίως εἶχον, εἴτ' ἠχθέσθησαν[2] ἐπί τινι
ὡς λυπούμενοι, εἴτε καὶ ὡς χαίροντες ἔπραξαν· ἢ
γὰρ μὴ πενθεῖν αὐτὴν ὡς ἄνθρωπον ἢ θρηνεῖν ὡς
6 θεὸν ἐνεκαλοῦντο. πάρεστι δὲ ἐξ ἑνὸς πάντα τὰ
τότε γενόμενα τεκμήρασθαι· τὸν γὰρ πωλήσαντα
12 θερμὸν ὕδωρ ἀπέκτεινεν ὡς ἀσεβήσαντα. δια-
λιπὼν δ' οὖν ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἔγημε Λολλίαν Παυ-
λῖναν, αὐτὸν τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς Μέμμιον Ῥήγουλον
ἐγγυῆσαί οἱ τὴν γυναῖκα ἀναγκάσας, μὴ καὶ
ἀνέγγυον αὐτὴν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους λάβῃ. καὶ
εὐθύς γε καὶ ἐκείνην[3] ἐξήλασεν.
2 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Σοαίμῳ μὲν τὴν τῶν Ἰτυραίων τῶν
Ἀράβων, Κότυϊ δὲ τήν τε Ἀρμενίαν τὴν σμικρο-

[1] αὐτῆς H. Steph., ἑαυτῆς M.
[2] εἴτ' ἠχθέσθησαν Cary, εἴθ' ἥσθησαν M.
[3] ἐκείνην R. Steph., ἐκεῖνον M (but corrected by late hand to ἐκείνην).

swear by her name, and on her birthday a festival equal to the Ludi Megalenses should be celebrated, and the senate and the knights should be given a banquet. She accordingly now received the name Panthea, and was declared worthy of divine honours in all the cities. Indeed, a certain Livius Geminius,[1] a senator, declared on oath, invoking destruction upon himself and his children if he spoke falsely, that he had seen her ascending to heaven and holding converse with the gods; and he called all the other gods and Panthea herself to witness. For this declaration he received a million sesterces. Besides honouring her in these ways, Gaius would not permit the festivals which were then due to take place, to be celebrated either at their appointed time, except as mere formalities, or at any later date. All persons incurred censure equally whether they took offence at anything, as being grieved, or behaved as if they were glad; for they were accused either of failing to mourn her as a mortal or of bewailing her as a goddess. One single incident will give the key to all that happened at that time: the emperor charged with *maiestas* and put to death a man who had sold hot water.[2] After allowing a few days to elapse, however, he married Lollia Paulina, after compelling her husband himself, Memmius Regulus, to betroth her to him, so that he should not break the law by taking her without any betrothal. But he promptly put her away, too. A.D. 38

Meanwhile he granted to Sohaemus the land of the Ituraean Arabians, to Cotys Lesser Armenia and

[1] The name should probably be Geminus. Cf. Dessau, *Prosop. Imp. Rom.* II. p. 290.

[2] See note on lvii. 14.

τέραν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας τινά, τῷ τε Ῥυμητάλκῃ τὰ τοῦ Κότυος καὶ Πολέμωνι τῷ τοῦ Πολέμωνος υἱεῖ τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχήν, ψηφισαμένης δὴ τῆς βουλῆς, ἐχαρίσατο, ἔν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐν δίφρῳ μεταξὺ τῶν ὑπάτων καθεζόμενος, καὶ παραπετάσμασι σηρικοῖς, ὥς
3 γέ τινές φασι, χρησάμενος. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πηλὸν πολὺν ἐν στενωπῷ τινι ἰδὼν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ τοῦ Φλαουίου ἱμάτιον, ἀγορανομοῦντός τε τότε καὶ τῆς τῶν στενωπῶν καθαριότητος ἐπιμελουμένου, ἐμβληθῆναι. καὶ τοῦτο οὕτω πραχθὲν παραχρῆμα μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ὤφθη, ὕστερον δὲ τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ τὰ πράγματα τεταραγμένα καὶ πεφυρμένα παραλαβόντος τε καὶ καταστησαμένου ἔδοξεν οὐκ ἀθεεὶ γεγονέναι, ἀλλ' ἄντικρυς αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν ὁ Γάιος πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἐγκεχειρικέναι.

13 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὑπατεύσας αὖθις τὸν μὲν τοῦ Διὸς ἱερέα ἐκώλυσεν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ὀμόσαι (ἰδίᾳ γὰρ καὶ τότε, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου, τὸν ὅρκον ἐποιοῦντο), αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ ἐνιστάμενος ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀπαλλαττόμενος ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, ὃ δὴ καὶ μεῖζον τοῦ
2 προτέρου ἐπεποίητο, ὤμοσε. τριάκοντα δὲ δὴ ἡμέρας ἦρξε, καίτοι Λουκίῳ Ἀπρωνίῳ τῷ συνάρχοντι ἓξ μῆνας ἐπιτρέψας· καὶ αὐτὸν Σαγκυΐνιος[1] Μάξιμος πολιαρχῶν διεδέξατο. καὶ ἔν τε ἐκείναις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἔπειτα πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν πρώτων καταδικασθέντες (συχνοὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου ἀφειμένων, δι' αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα δι' ἃ[2] ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐδέδεντο, ἐκολάσθησαν) πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ

[1] Σαγκυΐνιος Bs., σακυίνιος M.

later parts of Arabia, to Rhoemetalces the possessions of Cotys, and to Polemon, the son of Polemon, his ancestral domain, all upon vote of the senate. The ceremony took place in the Forum, where he sat upon the rostra in a chair between the consuls; some add that he used silken awnings. Later he caught sight of a lot of mud in an alley, and ordered it to be thrown upon the toga of Flavius Vespasian, who was then aedile and had charge of keeping the alleys clean. This action was not regarded as of any special significance at the time, but later, after Vespasian had taken over the management of affairs at a time when everything was in confusion and turmoil and had restored order everywhere, it seemed to have been due to some divine prompting, and to have signified that Gaius had entrusted the city to him outright for its improvement. A.D. 38

Gaius now became consul again, and though he prevented the priest of Jupiter from taking the oath in the senate (for at this time they regularly took it individually, as in the days of Tiberius), he himself, both when he entered upon office and when he relinquished it, took the oath like the others from the rostra, which had been enlarged. He held the office for only thirty days, though he allowed his colleague, Lucius Apronius, a term of six months; and he was succeeded by Sanquinius Maximus, who was prefect of the city. During these and the following days many of the foremost men perished in fulfilment of sentences of condemnation (for not a few of those who had been released from prison were punished for the very reasons that had led to their imprisonment by Tiberius) and many others of less A.D. 39

[2] δι' & R. Steph., διὰ M.

3 τῶν ἄλλων μονομαχήσαντες ἀπώλοντο. καὶ ἦν ἔξω τῶν φόνων οὐδέν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τῷ πλήθει ἔτι τι ἐχαρίζετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πρὸς πάντα ὅσα ἐβούλετο ἀντέπραττε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπιθυμήμασιν αὐτοῦ ἀντέσπευδον, καὶ ἦν καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ ὁρᾶν οἷα ἂν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ ὁ μὲν ὀργιζόμενος οἱ δ' ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι καὶ εἴποιεν
4 καὶ πράξειαν.[1] οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐξ ἴσου σφίσι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐγίγνετο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔξω τοῦ λαλεῖν ἢ καὶ τοῖς σχήμασί τι προσενδείκνυσθαι οὐδὲν ἐδύναντο, ὁ δὲ δὴ Γάιος συχνοὺς μὲν καὶ μεταξὺ θεωμένους κατασπῶν, συχνοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπηλλαγμένους ἐκ τῶν θεάτρων συλλαμβάνων ἀπώλλυεν.
5 αἰτίαι δὲ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτῷ ἐγίγνοντο ὅτι τε μὴ σπουδῇ συνεφοίτων (ἄλλοτε γὰρ ἄλλῃ ὥρᾳ παρὰ τὰ προηγγελμένα ἀπαντῶντος αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἔτι νυκτὸς τοτὲ δὲ καὶ μετὰ μεσημβρίαν ἐς τὰ θέατρα ἐσιόντος, ἀποκναιόμενοι ἐκακοῦντο) καὶ ὅτι μήτε ἀεὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀρέσκοντας αὐτῷ ἐπῄνουν καί τινας καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων
6 ἔστιν ὅτε ἐτίμων. καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ δεινῶς ἠγανάκτει ὅτι μεγαλύνοντες αὐτὸν ἐπεβόων "νεανίσκε Αὔγουστε·" οὐ γὰρ μακαρίζεσθαι ὅτι νέος ὢν ἐμονάρχει, ἀλλ' ἐγκαλεῖσθαι ὅτι ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τηλικαύτην ἀρχὴν εἶχεν ἡγεῖτο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀεὶ ἐποίει, καί ποτε παντὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἅμα ἀπειλῶν ἔφη "εἴθε ἕνα αὐχένα εἴχετε·"
7 τότε δὲ ἐπειδὴ παρωξύνθη τι οἷον εἰώθει, δυσχε-

[1] πράξειαν Dind., πράξαιεν M.

prominence in gladiatorial combats. In fact, there was nothing but slaughter; for the emperor no longer showed any favours even to the populace, but opposed absolutely everything they wished, and consequently the people on their part resisted all his desires. The talk and behaviour that might be expected at such a juncture, with an angry ruler on one side, and a hostile people on the other, were plainly in evidence. The contest between them, however, was not an equal one; for the people could do nothing but talk and show something of their feelings by their gestures, whereas Gaius would destroy his opponents, dragging many away even while they were witnessing the games and arresting many more after they had left the theatres. The chief causes of his anger were, first, that they did not show enthusiasm in attending the spectacles (for he himself used to arrive at the theatres now at one hour and now at another, regardless of previous announcement, sometimes coming before dawn and sometimes not until afternoon, so that they became tired and weary waiting for him), and again, that they did not always applaud the performers that pleased him and sometimes even showed honour to those whom he disliked. Furthermore, it vexed him greatly to hear them hail him as "young Augustus" in their efforts to extol him; for he felt that he was not being congratulated upon being emperor while still so young, but was rather being censured for ruling such an empire at his age. He was always doing things of the sort that I have related; and once he said, threatening the whole people: "Would that you had but a single neck." At this time, when he displayed his usual exasperation, the A.D. 39

ρᾶναν τὸ πλῆθος τῆς τε θέας ἠμέλησε καὶ ἐπὶ
τοὺς συκοφαντοῦντας ἐτράπετο, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ
πολὺ σφοδρῶς βοῶντες ἐξήτουν. καὶ ὃς ἀγανα-
κτήσας ἀπεκρίνατο μέν σφισιν οὐδέν, προστάξας
δὲ ἑτέροις τισὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ποιεῖν ἐς Καμπανίαν
8 ἀπῆρε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπανελθὼν πρὸς τὰ τῆς
Δρουσίλλης γενέσια ἄγαλμά τε αὐτῆς ὑπ'[1] ἐλε-
φάντων ἐν ἁρμαμάξῃ ἐς τὸν ἱππόδρομον ἐσήγαγε,
καὶ θέαν τῷ δήμῳ προῖκα ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας ἀπένειμε·
καὶ ἐν[2] αὐτῷ τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ ἄρκτοι πρὸς ταῖς
9 τῶν ἵππων ἁμίλλαις πεντακόσιαι ἐσφάγησαν, τῇ
δὲ ἑτέρᾳ Λιβυκὰ θηρία ἴσα ἀνηλώθη, καὶ παγκρα-
τιασταὶ ἐν πολλοῖς ἅμα τόποις ἠγωνίσαντο. καὶ
ὁ δῆμος εἱστιάθη, τοῖς τε βουλευταῖς ταῖς τε
γυναιξὶν αὐτῶν δωρεὰ ἐδόθη . . . .[3]
14 Ταῦτά τε ἅμα ὡς καὶ πάνυ πενόμενος ἐφόνευε,
καί τινα καὶ ἕτερον τοιόνδε χρηματισμὸν ἐπεξεῦρε.
τοὺς γὰρ περιγενομένους τῶν μονομάχων τοῖς τε
ὑπάτοις καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τοῖς τε ἄλλοις, οὐχ
2 ὅτι τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ[4] ἄκοντάς
τινας βιαζόμενος ἐν ταῖς ἱπποδρομίαις καὶ τὰ
τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο
κληρουμένοις ὅτι μάλιστα (δύο γὰρ στρατηγοὺς
ἐς τοὺς ὁπλομαχικοὺς ἀγῶνας, ὥσπερ ποτὲ ἐγί-
γνετο, λαγχάνειν ἐκέλευσε) πάντως ἐπιτιμῶν ἀπεδί-
δοτο, αὐτός τε ἐπὶ τοῦ πρατηρίου καθεζόμενος
3 καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπερβάλλων. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοθεν
ἀφικνούμενοι ἀντωνοῦντο αὐτούς, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι
ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς βουλομένοις καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν νόμον τῷ
ἀριθμῷ τῶν μονομαχούντων χρῆσθαι, καὶ πολ-

[1] ὑπ' Bs., ἐπ' M. [2] ἐν added by Bs.
[3] Lacuna indicated by Xyl.

populace in displeasure ceased to watch the show and turned against the informers, for a long time and with loud cries demanding their surrender. Gaius became angry and gave them no answer, but committing to others the conduct of the games, withdrew into Campania. Later he returned to celebrate the birthday of Drusilla, brought her statue into the Circus on a car drawn by elephants, and gave the people a free exhibition for two days. On the first day, besides the horse-races, five hundred bears were slain, and on the second day as many Libyan beasts were accounted for; also athletes competed in the pancratium in many different places at the same time. The populace was feasted and a present was given to the senators and their wives . . . . A.D. 39

At the same time that he was perpetrating these murders, apparently because he was in urgent need of funds, he devised another scheme for getting money, as follows. He would sell the survivors in the gladiatorial combats at an excessive valuation to the consuls, praetors, and others, not only to willing purchasers, but also to others who were compelled very much against their will to give such exhibitions at the Circensian games, and in particular he sold them to the men specially chosen by lot to have charge of such contests (for he ordered that two praetors should be chosen by lot to have charge of the gladiatorial games, just as had formerly been the custom); and he himself would sit on the auctioneer's platform and keep raising the bids. Many also came from outside to put in rival bids, the more so as he allowed any who so wished to employ a greater number of gladiators than the law permitted and

[1] πάνυ Dind., τοὺς πάνυ M.

λάκις καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπεφοίτα σφίσιν, ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν καὶ
4 δεόμενοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἱ δὲ[1] χαριεῖσθαι αὐτῷ
νομίζοντες, καὶ οἵ γε πλείους, ὅσοι ἐν δόξῃ περι-
ουσίας ἦσαν, ἀναλῶσαί τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐπὶ
τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ, ὅπως πενέστεροι γενόμενοι
περισωθῶσιν, ἐθέλοντες,[2] μεγάλων αὐτοὺς χρημά-
5 των ἠγόρασαν. καίτοι τοῦτο ποιήσας ἔπειτα
τούς τε ἀρίστους καὶ τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους σφῶν
φαρμάκῳ διέφθειρε. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ
τῶν ἵππων τῶν τε ἡνιόχων τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν
6 ἐποίει. ἰσχυρῶς γὰρ τῷ τὴν βατραχίδα ἐνδύνοντι
καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ χρώματος τοῦ πρασίνου
καλουμένῳ προσέκειτο, ὥστε καὶ νῦν ἔτι Γαϊανὸν
ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ τὰ ἅρματα ἤσκει καλεῖ-
7 σθαι. καὶ ἕνα γε τῶν ἵππων, ὃν Ἰγκιτᾶτον
ὠνόμαζε, καὶ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐκάλει, χρυσᾶς τε
αὐτῷ κριθὰς παρέβαλλε, καὶ οἶνον ἐν χρυσοῖς
ἐκπώμασι προύπινε, τήν τε σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ[3] καὶ
τὴν τύχην ὤμνυε, καὶ προσυπισχνεῖτο καὶ ὕπατον
αὐτὸν ἀποδείξειν. καὶ πάντως ἂν καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπε-
ποιήκει, εἰ πλείω χρόνον ἐζήκει.

15 Ἐς δ' οὖν τοὺς πόρους τῶν χρημάτων πρότερον μὲν ἐψήφιστο ὅπως ὅσοι τινὰ τῷ Τιβερίῳ καταλιπεῖν ἐθελήσαντες περιῆσαν, τῷ Γαΐῳ αὐτὰ τελευτῶντες χαρίσωνται· ἵνα γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ κληρονομεῖν καὶ δωρήματα τοιαῦτα λαμβάνειν, ὅτι μήτε γυναῖκα τότε γε μήτε παῖδας εἶχε, δύνασθαι δοκῇ, δόγμα τι προέθετο.[4]

[1] οἱ δὲ M, οἱ δὲ καὶ cod. Peir.

[2] περισωθῶσιν ἐθέλοντες Bk., περισωθῶσι θέλοντες M cod. Peir.

[3] αὐτοῦ Xiph., om. M.

because he frequently visited them himself. So people bought them for large sums, some because they really wanted them, others with the idea of gratifying Gaius, and the majority, consisting of those who had a reputation for wealth, from a desire to take advantage of this excuse to spend some of their substance and thus by becoming poorer save their lives. Yet after doing all this he later put the best and the most famous of these slaves out of the way by poison. He did the same also with the horses and charioteers of the rival factions; for he was strongly attached to the party that wore the frog-green, which from this colour was called also the Party of the Leek. Hence even to-day the place where he used to practise driving the chariots is called the Gaianum after him. One of the horses, which he named Incitatus, he used to invite to dinner, where he would offer him golden barley and drink his health in wine from golden goblets; he swore by the animal's life and fortune and even promised to appoint him consul, a promise that he would certainly have carried out if he had lived longer. A.D. 39

In order to provide him with funds, it had been voted earlier that all persons still living who had wished to leave anything to Tiberius should at their death bestow the same upon Gaius; for, in order to appear to have the right to accept inheritances and receive such gifts in spite of the laws (inasmuch as he had at this time neither wife nor children),[1] he caused a decree to be issued by the senate. But at the

[1] See chap. 12, 1.

[4] προεθετο Fabr., προσέθετο M cod. Peir.

2 ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι πάσας ἁπλῶς τὰς τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἑκατοντάρχοις ἐστρατευμένων οὐσίας, ὅσοι μετὰ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἃ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἔπεμψεν ἄλλῳ τινὶ αὐτὰς καὶ μὴ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι κατελελοίπεσαν, αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἄνευ ψηφίσματος ἐσέπραξε.
3 καὶ ἐπειδὴ μηδὲ ταῦτα ἐξικνεῖτο, τρίτην τοιαύτην ἀφορμὴν ἀργυρισμοῦ ἐπενόησε. Γναῖος Δομίτιος Κορβούλων[1] βουλευτής, κακῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐχούσας ὁρῶν, τοῖς τε ἐπιμεληταῖς αὐτῶν ἀεί ποτε ἐνέκειτο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῇ
4 γερουσίᾳ ὀχληρὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐγίγνετο. τοῦτον οὖν παραλαβὼν ἐπέθετο δι' αὐτοῦ πᾶσιν οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς ζῶσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς τεθνηκόσιν, ὅσοι ποτὲ ἐπιστάται τῶν ὁδῶν ἐγεγόνεσαν καὶ χρήματα ἐς τὰς ἐπισκευὰς αὐτῶν εἰλήφεσαν, καὶ ἐκείνους τε καὶ τοὺς ἐργολαβήσαντάς τι παρ' αὐτῶν
5 ὡς οὐδὲν δὴ δαπανήσαντας ἐζημίου. ἐφ' οὗ δὴ ὁ Κορβούλων τότε μὲν ὑπάτευσεν, ὕστερον δὲ ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου αἰτίαν τε ἔσχε καὶ εὐθύνθη· ὁ γὰρ Κλαύδιος οὔτε τὰ ἐποφειληθέντα ἀπήτησε, καὶ τὰ δεδομένα, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου τὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κορβούλωνος ἐσπράξας,
6 ἀπέδωκε τοῖς ζημιωθεῖσι. τοῦτο μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο· τότε δ' οὗτοί τε ὡς ἕκαστοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ὡς εἰπεῖν οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τρόπον τινὰ ἀπεσυλῶντο, καὶ ἀζήμιος τῶν γέ τι ἐχόντων οὐδεις, οὐκ ἀνὴρ οὐ γυνή, ἦν. καὶ γὰρ εἴ τινα τῶν ἀφηλικεστέρων ζῆν εἴα, ἀλλὰ πατέρας τε καὶ πάππους μητέρας τε καὶ τήθας σφᾶς ὀνομάζων ζῶντάς τε ἐξεκαρποῦτο καὶ τελευτῶντας τῶν οὐσιῶν ἐκληρονόμει.

[1] Κορβούλων R. Steph., κουρβούλων M cod. Peir.

time of which I am speaking he seized for himself, without any decree, absolutely all the property of those who had served as centurions and had after the triumph which his father celebrated left it to somebody else than the emperor. When not even this sufficed, he hit upon the following third method of raising money. There was a senator, Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo, who had noticed that the roads during the reign of Tiberius were in bad condition, and was always nagging the highway commissioners about it, and furthermore kept making a nuisance of himself to the senate on the subject. Gaius now took him as an accomplice, and through him attacked all those, alive or dead, who had ever been highway commissioners and had received money for repairing the roads; and he fined both them and the men who had secured contracts from them, on the pretence that they had spent nothing. For his assistance in this matter Corbulo was at the time made consul, but later in the reign of Claudius, he was accused and punished; for Claudius not only failed to demand any sums that were still owed, but, on the contrary, took what had been paid in, partly from the public treasury and partly from Corbulo himself, and returned it to those who had been fined. But this took place later. At the time of my narrative not only the various classes already named, but also practically everybody else in the city, was being despoiled in one manner or another, and no one who possessed anything, whether man or woman, got off unscathed. For even if Gaius did permit some of the older people to live, yet by calling them his fathers, grandfathers, mothers, and grandmothers, he not only milked them while they lived but also inherited their property when they died. A.D. 39

16 Μέχρι μὲν οὖν τοῦ χρόνου τούτου αὐτός τε τὸν
Τιβέριον ἀεὶ καὶ πρὸς πάντας κακῶς ἔλεγε, καὶ
τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς κακηγοροῦσιν αὐτὸν καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ
δημοσίᾳ οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἐπετίμα ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔχαιρεν·
τότε δὲ ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον πολλὰ μὲν
ἐκεῖνον ἐπῄνεσε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς γερουσίας τοῦ
τε δήμου κατηγόρησεν ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς αὐτὸν ψεγόν-
2 των. "ἐμοὶ μὲν γάρ" ἔφη "αὐτοκράτορι ὄντι
καὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἔξεστιν, ὑμεῖς δὲ δὴ οὐ μόνον
ἀδικεῖτε ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσεβεῖτε[1] πρὸς τὸν ἄρξαντά
ποτε ὑμῶν οὕτω διακείμενοι." κἀκ τούτου καθ'
ἕκαστον τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἐπεξιὼν ἀπέφαινεν, ὥς
γε ἐδόκει, τοὺς βουλευτὰς αἰτίους τοῦ ὀλέθρου
τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτῶν γεγονότας, τοὺς μὲν ὅτι
κατηγόρησάν σφων, τοὺς δὲ ὅτι κατεμαρτύρησαν,
3 πάντας δὲ ὅτι κατεψηφίσαντο. καὶ ταῦτά τε ὡς
ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν γραμμάτων ἃ καταπεπρη-
κέναι ποτὲ ἔφη ἐπανέγνω διὰ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων,
καὶ προσεπεῖπεν ὅτι "εἰ καί τι ὁ Τιβέριος ἠδικήκει,
οὐκ ὠφείλετε αὐτὸν ζῶντα τετιμηκέναι, οὐ μὰ Δί',
οὐδ'[2] ἐφ' οἷς καὶ εἴπατε πολλάκις καὶ ἐψηφίσασθε
4 μεταβάλλεσθαι. ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐμπλήκ-
τως μετεχειρίσασθε, καὶ τὸν Σεϊανὸν φυσή-
σαντες καὶ διαφθείραντες ἀπεκτείνατε, ὥστε δεῖ
καὶ ἐμὲ μηδὲν χρηστὸν παρ' ὑμῶν προσδέχεσθαι."
τοιαῦτα ἄττα εἰπὼν αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν Τιβέριον τῷ
5 λόγῳ παρήγαγε, λέγοντά οἱ ὅτι "καὶ καλῶς καὶ
ἀληθῶς πάντα ταῦτα εἴρηκας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μήτε
φιλήσῃς τινὰ αὐτῶν μήτε φείσῃ τινός. πάντες
τε γὰρ μισοῦσί σε καὶ πάντες ἀποθανεῖν εὔχονται·

[1] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσεβεῖτε exc. Vat., om. M.
[2] οὐδ' Bs., οὐκ M.

BOOK LIX

Up to this time Gaius had not only himself always spoken ill of Tiberius before everybody, but also, far from rebuking others when they denounced him either privately or publicly, had actually taken delight in their remarks. But now he entered the senate-chamber and eulogized his predecessor at length, besides severely rebuking the senate and the people, saying that they did wrong in finding fault with him. "I myself have the right to do even this," he said, "in my capacity as emperor; but you not only do wrong but are guilty of *maiestas* as well, to take such a tone towards one who was once your ruler." Thereupon he took up separately the case of each man who had lost his life, and tried to show, as people thought at least, that the senators had been responsible for the death of most of them, some by accusing them, others by testifying against them, and all by their votes of condemnation. The evidence of this, purporting to be derived from those very documents which he once declared he had burned, he caused to be read to them by the imperial freedmen. And he added: "If Tiberius really did do wrong, you ought not, by Jupiter, to have honoured him while he lived, and then, after repeatedly saying and voting what you did, turn about now. But it was not Tiberius alone that you treated in a fickle manner; Sejanus also you first puffed up with conceit and spoiled, then put him to death. Therefore I, too, ought not to expect any decent treatment from you." After some such remarks as these he represented in his speech Tiberius himself as saying to him: "In all this you have spoken well and truly. Therefore show no affection for any of them and spare none of them. For they all hate you and A.D. 39

καὶ φονεύσουσί γε, ἂν δυνηθῶσι.[1] μήτ' οὖν
ὅπως τι χαρίσῃ πράξας αὐτοῖς ἐννόει, μήτ' ἄν
6 τι θρυλῶσι φρόντιζε, ἀλλὰ τό τε ἡδὺ καὶ τὸ
ἀσφαλὲς τὸ σεαυτοῦ μόνον ὡς καὶ δικαιότατον
προσκόπει. οὕτω μὲν γὰρ οὔτε τι πείσῃ κακὸν
καὶ πάντων τῶν ἡδίστων ἀπολαύσεις, καὶ προσέτι
καὶ τιμηθήσῃ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἄν τ' ἐθέλωσιν ἄν τε καὶ
7 μή· ἐκείνως δὲ ἔργῳ μὲν οὐδὲν ὀνήσει,[2] λόγῳ δὲ
δὴ δόξαν κενὴν λαβὼν οὔτε τι πλέον ἕξεις καὶ
ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἀκλεῶς τελευτήσεις. οὐδεὶς γὰρ
ἀνθρώπων ἑκὼν ἄρχεται, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν
φοβεῖται, θεραπεύει τὸν ἰσχυρότερον, ὅταν δὲ δὴ
θαρσήσῃ, τιμωρεῖται τὸν ἀσθενέστερον."
8 Γάιος μὲν ταῦτά τ' εἰπὼν καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας
ἐγκλήματα ἐπαναγαγών, ἔς τε στήλην αὐτὰ
χαλκῆν εὐθὺς ἐγγραφῆναι ἐκέλευσε, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ
βουλευτηρίου σπουδῇ ἐξεπήδησεν, ἔς τε τὸ
προάστειον αὐθημερὸν ἐξώρμησεν· ἡ δὲ δὴ
γερουσία καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐν δέει μεγάλῳ ἐγένοντο,
τῶν τε κακηγοριῶν ἅμα ἃς κατὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου
πολλάκις ἐπεποίηντο ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι, καὶ οἷα
ἀνθ' οἵων ἠκηκόεσαν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἐκλογιζό-
9 μενοι. καὶ τότε μὲν ὑπό τε τῆς ἐκπλήξεως καὶ
ὑπὸ τῆς ἀθυμίας οὔτε φθέγξασθαι οὔτε τι χρημα-
τίσαι ἠδυνήθησαν· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ αὖθις ἀθροι-
σθέντες ἐπαίνους τε αὐτοῦ πολλοὺς ὡς καὶ
ἀληθεστάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ὄντος ἐποιή-
σαντο, χάριν οἱ μεγάλην ἔχοντες ὅτι μὴ προσ-
10 απώλοντο· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ
αὐτοῦ βουθυτεῖν κατ' ἔτος ἔν τε ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ

[1] δυνηθῶσι Bk., δυνηθῶσί σε M.
[2] οὐδὲν ὀνήσει Dind., οὐδὲ νομήσει M.

they all pray for your death; and they will murder you if they can. Do not stop to consider, then, what acts of yours will please them nor mind it if they talk, but look solely to your own pleasure and safety, since that has the most just claim. In this way you will suffer no harm and will at the same time enjoy all the greatest pleasures; you will also be honoured by them, whether they wish it or not. If, however, you pursue the opposite course, it will profit you naught in reality; for, though in name you may win an empty reputation, you will gain no advantage, but will become the victim of plots and will perish ingloriously. For no man living is ruled of his own free will; on the contrary, only so long as a person is afraid, does he pay court to the man who is stronger, but when he gains courage, he avenges himself on the man who is weaker." A.D. 39

At the close of this address Gaius restored the charge of *maiestas*, ordered his commands to be inscribed at once upon a bronze tablet, and then, rushing hastily out of the senate-house, proceeded the same day to the suburbs. The senate and the people were in great fear as they recalled the denunciations that they had often uttered against Tiberius and at the same time pondered over the contrast between the words they had just heard from Gaius and his previous utterances. For the moment their alarm and dejection prevented them from saying a word or transacting any business; but on the next day they assembled again and bestowed lavish praise upon Gaius as a most sincere and pious ruler, for they felt very grateful to him that they had not perished like the others. Accordingly, they voted to offer annual sacrifices to his Clemency, both on the anniversary

ἐν ᾗ ταῦτα ἀνεγνώκει καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῷ παλατίῳ
προσηκούσαις,[1] εἰκόνος τε αὐτοῦ χρυσῆς ἐς τὸ
Καπιτώλιον ἀναγομένης καὶ ὕμνων ἐπ' αὐτῇ διὰ
τῶν εὐγενεστάτων παίδων ᾀδομένων, ἐψηφίσαντο.
11 τά τε ἐπινίκια τὰ σμικρότερα ὡς καὶ πολεμίους
τινὰς νενικηκότι πέμψαι αὐτῷ ἔδωκαν.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν τότε ταῦτ' ἔγνωσαν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
κατὰ πᾶσαν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀφορμὴν πάντως τι αὐτῷ
17 προσετίθεσαν· Γάιος δὲ ἐκείνης μὲν τῆς πομπῆς
οὐδὲν προετίμησεν (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ μέγα τι ἐνόμιζεν
εἶναι ἵππῳ δι' ἠπείρου διελάσαι), διὰ δὲ τῆς θαλάσ-
σης τρόπον τινὰ διιππεῦσαι ἐπεθύμησε, γεφυρώσας
τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν τε Ποτεόλων καὶ τῶν Βαύλων.
τὸ γὰρ χωρίον τοῦτο κατ' ἀντιπέραν τῆς πόλεώς
2 ἐστι, διέχον αὐτῆς σταδίους ἓξ καὶ εἴκοσι. πλοῖα
δὲ ἐς τὴν γέφυραν τὰ μὲν ἠθροίσθη τὰ δὲ καὶ
κατεσκευάσθη· οὐ γὰρ ἐξήρκεσε τὰ συλλεγῆναι
δυνηθέντα ὡς ἐν βραχυτάτῳ, καίτοι πάντα ὅσα
ἐνεδέχετο συναχθέντα, ἀφ' οὗπερ καὶ λιμὸς ἔν τε
τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ μάλιστα ἰσχυρὸς
3 ἐγένετο. ἐζεύχθη δὲ οὐχ ἁπλῶς δίοδός τις, ἀλλὰ
καὶ ἀνάπαυλαι ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ καταλύσεις, ὥστε
καὶ ὕδωρ αὐτὰς πότιμον ἐπίρρυτον ἔχειν, ἐποιή-
θησαν. ἐπειδή τε ἕτοιμα ἦν, τόν τε θώρακα τὸν
Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὥς γε ἔλεγε, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ χλαμύδα
σηρικὴν ἁλουργῆ, πολὺ μὲν χρυσίον πολλοὺς δὲ
καὶ λίθους Ἰνδικοὺς ἔχουσαν, ἐπενέδυ, ξίφος τε

[1] Bs. suggests ἐν ταῖς θέαις ταῖς τῷ παλατίῳ προσηκούσαις.

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[1] This expression is obscure. Fabricius thought it contained a reference to the Ludi Palatini. Cf. chap. 29, 4, and lvi. 46, 5. Boissevain, on the other hand, proposes to read "at the spectacles belonging to the palace."

of the day on which he had read his address and on A.D. 39
the days belonging to the palace;[1] on these occasions a golden image of the emperor was to be carried up to the Capitol and hymns sung in its honour by the boys of the noblest birth. They also granted him the right to celebrate an ovation, as if he had defeated some enemies.

These were the honours they decreed on that occasion; and later, on almost any pretext, they were sure to add others. Gaius, however, did not care at all for that kind of triumph, as he did not consider it any great achievement to drive a chariot on dry land; on the other hand, he was eager to drive his chariot through the sea, as it were, by bridging the waters between Puteoli[2] and Bauli.[3] (The latter place lies directly across the bay from the city of Puteoli, at a distance of twenty-six stades.[4]) Of the ships for the bridge some were brought together there from other stations, but others were built on the spot, since the number that could be assembled there in a very brief space of time was insufficient, even though all the vessels possible were got together—with the result that a very severe famine occurred in Italy, and particularly in Rome. In building the bridge not merely a passageway was constructed, but also resting-places and lodging-rooms were built along its course, and these had running water suitable for drinking. When all was ready, he put on the breastplate of Alexander (or so he claimed), and over it a purple silk chlamys, adorned with much gold and many precious stones from India; moreover

[2] The modern Pozzuoli.
[3] A small place between Baiae and Misenum.
[4] About $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles.

παρεζώσατο καὶ ἀσπίδα ἔλαβε καὶ δρυῒ ἐστεφα-
4 νώσατο, κἀκ τούτου τῷ τε Ποσειδῶνι καὶ ἄλλοις
τισὶ θεοῖς Φθόνῳ τε θύσας, μὴ καὶ βασκανία τις
αὐτῷ, ὥς ἔφασκε, γένηται, ἔς τε τὸ ζεῦγμα ἀπὸ
τῶν Βαύλων ἐσέβαλε, παμπληθεῖς καὶ ἱππέας
καὶ πεζοὺς ὡπλισμένους ἐπαγόμενος, καὶ σπουδῇ
καθάπερ ἐπὶ πολεμίους τινὰς ἐς τὴν πόλιν
5 ἐσέπεσε. κἀνταῦθα τῆς ὑστεραίας ἀναπαυσά-
μενος ὥσπερ ἐκ μάχης, ἀνεκομίσθη διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς
γεφύρας ἐφ' ἅρματος, χιτῶνα χρυσόπαστον ἐνδύς·
ἦγον δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ ἀθληταὶ ἵπποι οἱ[1] ἀξιονικότατοι.
καὶ ἄλλα τε[2] αὐτῷ πολλὰ ὡς καὶ λάφυρα συνηκο-
λούθησε, καὶ Δαρεῖος ἀνὴρ Ἀρσακίδης, ἐν τοῖς
6 ὁμηρεύουσι τότε τῶν Πάρθων ὤν· οἵ τε φίλοι
καὶ οἱ ἑταῖροι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ ὀχημάτων ἐν ἐσθῆσιν
ἀνθιναῖς ἐφείποντο, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς καὶ ὅ γε
λοιπὸς ὅμιλος, ἰδίως πως ἕκαστοι κεκοσμημένοι.
καὶ ἔδει γὰρ αὐτόν, οἷα ἔν τε στρατιᾷ τοιαύτῃ
καὶ ἐπὶ νίκῃ τηλικαύτῃ, καὶ δημηγορῆσαί τι,
ἀνέβη τε ἐπὶ βῆμα ἐπὶ πλοίων καὶ αὐτὸ κατὰ
7 μέσην που τὴν γέφυραν πεποιημένον, καὶ πρῶτον
μὲν ἑαυτὸν ὡς καὶ μεγάλων τινῶν ἔργων ἐπιχειρη-
τὴν ἀπεσέμνυνεν, ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὡς
καὶ πεπονηκότας καὶ κεκινδυνευκότας ἐπῄνεσεν,
ἄλλα τε καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἰπών, ὅτι πεζῇ διὰ τῆς
8 θαλάσσης διέδραμον. καὶ χρήματά τε διὰ τοῦτ'
αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτός τε[3] ἐπὶ τῆς
γεφύρας, ὥσπερ ἐν νήσῳ τινί, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐν
ἑτέροις πλοίοις περιορμοῦντες, τό τε λοιπὸν τῆς
ἡμέρας καὶ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν εἱστιάθησαν, πολλοῦ
μὲν αὐτόθεν φωτὸς πολλοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν

[1] οἱ supplied by Rk. [2] τε Xiph., δὲ M.

he girt on a sword, took a shield, and donned a garland of oak leaves. Then he offered sacrifice to Neptune and some other gods and to Envy (in order, as he put it, that no jealousy should attend him), and entered the bridge from the end at Bauli, taking with him a multitude of armed horsemen and foot-soldiers; and he dashed fiercely into Puteoli as if he were in pursuit of an enemy. There he remained during the following day, as if resting from battle; then, wearing a gold-embroidered tunic, he returned in a chariot over the same bridge, being drawn by race-horses accustomed to win the most victories. A long train of what purported to be spoils followed him, including Darius, a member of the Arsacid family, who was one of the Parthians then living in Rome as hostages. His friends and associates in flowered robes followed in vehicles, and then came the army and the rest of the throng, each man dressed according to his individual taste. Of course, while on such a campaign and after so magnificent a victory he had to deliver a harangue; so he ascended a platform which had likewise been erected on the ships near the centre of the bridge. First he extolled himself as an undertaker of great enterprises, and then he praised the soldiers as men who had undergone great hardships and perils, mentioning in particular this achievement of theirs in crossing through the sea on foot. For this he gave them money, and after that they feasted for the rest of the day and all through the night, he on the bridge, as though on an island, and they on other boats anchored round about. Light in abundance shone down upon them from the place itself, and abundant A.D. 39

[3] τε Xiph., γε M.

9 ἐπιλάμψαντος σφίσι. τοῦ γὰρ χωρίου μηνο-
ειδοῦς ὄντος πῦρ πανταχόθεν, καθάπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ
τινί, ἐδείχθη, ὥστε μηδεμίαν αἴσθησιν τοῦ σκότους
γενέσθαι· καὶ γὰρ τὴν νύκτα ἡμέραν, ὥσπερ που
τὴν θάλασσαν γῆν, ποιῆσαι ἠθέλησεν. ἐμπλη-
σθεὶς δὲ δὴ καὶ ὑπερκορὴς καὶ σίτου καὶ μέθης
γενόμενος συχνοὺς μὲν τῶν ἑταίρων ἐς τὴν θάλασ-
10 σαν ἀπὸ τῆς γεφύρας ἔρριψε, συχνοὺς δὲ καὶ
τῶν ἄλλων ἐν πλοίοις ἐμβόλους ἔχουσι περιπλεύ-
σας κατέδυσεν, ὥστε καὶ ἀπολέσθαι τινάς· οἱ
γὰρ πλείους καίπερ μεθύοντες ἐσώθησαν. αἴτιον
δὲ ὅτι καὶ λειοτάτη καὶ στασιμωτάτη ἡ θάλασσα,
καὶ ἐν ᾧ ἡ γέφυρα ἐζεύχθη καὶ ἐν ᾧ τὰ ἄλλα
11 ἐποιήθη, ἐγένετο. καί τι καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ὠγκώθη,
λέγων ὅτι καὶ ὁ Ποσειδῶν αὐτὸν ἐφοβήθη, ἐπεὶ
ἔς γε τὸν Δαρεῖον καὶ τὸν Ξέρξην οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ
ἀπέσκωπτεν, ὡς καὶ πολλαπλάσιόν σφων μέτρον
τῆς θαλάσσης ζεύξας.

18 Τῆς μὲν δὴ γεφύρας ἐκείνης τοῦτο τὸ τέλος
ἐγένετο, καὶ αἰτίαν καὶ αὐτὴ θανάτου πολλοῖς
παρέσχεν· ἐξαναλωθεὶς γὰρ ἐς αὐτὴν πολλῷ
πλείοσι διὰ τὰς οὐσίας ἐπεβούλευσεν. ἐδίκαζε
2 δὲ καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ μετὰ πάσης τῆς γερουσίας. καί
τινα καὶ ἐκείνη καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἔκρινεν· οὐ μέντοι
καὶ αὐτοτελὴς ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐφέσιμοι δίκαι ἀπ' αὐτῆς
συχναὶ ἐγίγνοντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῇ βουλῇ δόξαντα
ἄλλως ἐφανεροῦτο, τῶν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαΐου
καταψηφισθέντων τὰ ὀνόματα ἐξετίθετο, ὥσπερ
3 φοβουμένου αὐτοῦ μὴ διαλάθωσι. καὶ οὗτοί τε
ἐκολάζοντο, οἱ μὲν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ οἱ δὲ καὶ
ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου κατακρημνιζόμενοι, καὶ
ἕτεροι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς προαπεκτίννυσαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ

light besides from the mountains. For since the place was crescent-shaped, fires were lighted on all sides, as in a theatre, so that the darkness was not noticed at all; indeed, it was his wish to make the night day, as he had made the sea land. When he had become sated and glutted with food and strong drink, he hurled many of his companions off the bridge into the sea and sank many of the others by sailing about and attacking them in boats equipped with beaks. Some perished, but the majority, though drunk, managed to save themselves. This was due to the fact that the sea was extremely smooth and tranquil both while the bridge was being put together and while the other events were taking place. This, too, caused the emperor some elation, and he declared that even Neptune was afraid of him; as for Darius and Xerxes, he made all manner of fun of them, claiming that he had bridged a far greater expanse of sea than they had done. A.D. 39

This was the end of that bridge, but it also proved a source of death to many; for, inasmuch as Gaius had exhausted his funds in constructing it, he fell to plotting against many more persons than ever because of their property. He held trials both alone and together with the entire senate. That body also tried some cases by itself; it did not, however, possess final authority, and there were many appeals from its verdicts. The decisions of the senate were made public in the usual way, but when any persons were condemned by Gaius, their names were published, as if he feared people might not learn of their fate otherwise. So these were punished, some in prison and others by being hurled down from the Capitoline; and still others killed themselves before-

οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐξελαυνομένοις ἀσφάλεια ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκείνων πολλοὶ ἤτοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἢ καὶ ἐν τῇ φυγῇ διεφθείροντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν δεῖ λεπτολογοῦντα μάτην τοὺς ἀναγνωσομένους
4 *διοχλεῖν·* Καλουίσιος *δὲ δὴ* Σαβῖνος *ἔν τε τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς βουλῆς ὢν καὶ τότε ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῇ* Παννονίᾳ *ἀρχῆς ἀφιγμένος, ἥ τε γυνὴ αὐτοῦ* Κορνηλία *γραφέντες (καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνη ὡς φυλακάς τε ἐφοδεύσασα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀσκοῦντας ἰδοῦσα αἰτίαν ἔσχεν) οὐχ ὑπέμειναν τὴν κρίσιν,*
5 *ἀλλ' ἑαυτοὺς προανάλωσαν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ* Τίτιος Ῥοῦφος *ἐποίησεν, ἔγκλημα λαβὼν εἰρηκέναι ὅτι ἡ γερουσία ἄλλα μὲν φρονεῖ ἄλλα δ' ἀποφαίνεται.* Ἰούνιός *τέ τις* Πρίσκος *στρατηγὸς ᾐτιάθη μὲν ἐπ' ἄλλοις τισίν, ἀπέθανε δὲ ὡς πλούσιος. καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὁ* Γάιος, *μαθὼν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄξιον τοῦ θανάτου ἐκέκτητο, θαυμαστὸν λόγον ἐφθέγξατο, εἰπὼν ὅτι "ἠπάτησέ με καὶ μάτην ἀπώλετο· ζῆν γὰρ ἐδύνατο."*

19 Ἐν *τούτοις τοῖς τότε κριθεῖσι καὶ ὁ* Ἄφρος *ὁ* Δομίτιος *καὶ κινδύνῳ παραδόξῳ καὶ σωτηρίᾳ θαυμασιωτέρᾳ ἐχρήσατο. ἤχθετο μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλως ὁ* Γάιος, *ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦ* Τιβερίου *γυναικός τινος τῇ* Ἀγριππίνῃ *τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ προση-*
2 *κούσης*[1] *κατηγορήκει· ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ ἐκείνη συναντήσασά ποτε αὐτῷ, καὶ μαθοῦσα ὅτι ἐξέστη τῆς ὁδοῦ δι' αἰσχύνην, προσεκαλέσατό τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἔφη "θάρσει,*[2] Δομίτιε· *οὐ γάρ σύ μοι αἴτιος*

hand. There was no safety even for such as were banished, but many of them, too, lost their lives either on the road or while in exile. There is no need of burdening my readers unnecessarily by going into the details of most of these cases, but one or two of them call for special mention. Thus, Calvisius Sabinus, one of the foremost men in the senate, who had just returned from governing Pannonia, was indicted together with his wife Cornelia. The charge against her was that she had made the rounds of the sentries and had watched the soldiers at drill. These two did not stand trial but despatched themselves before the time fixed. The same course was taken by Titius Rufus, who was charged with having declared that the senate thought one way and voted another. Also one Junius Priscus, a praetor, was accused on various charges, but his death was really due to the supposition that he was wealthy. In this case Gaius, on learning that the man had possessed nothing to make his death worth while, made the remarkable statement: "He fooled me and perished needlessly, when he might just as well have lived." A.D. 39

One of these men tried at this time, Domitius Afer, came near losing his life for an extraordinary reason, and was saved in a still more remarkable manner. Gaius hated him in any case, because in the reign of Tiberius he had accused a woman who was related to his mother Agrippina. Hence Agrippina, when she afterwards met Domitius and perceived that out of embarrassment he stood aside from her path, called to him and said: "Fear not, Domitius;

[1] προσηκούσης Xiph., προσηκουσηι M.
[2] θάρσει exc. Vat., θάρρει M Xiph.

εἶ, ἀλλ' Ἀγαμέμνων." τότε δὲ ἐπειδὴ εἰκόνα τινὰ αὐτοῦ στήσας ἐπίγραμμα αὐτῇ ἐπέγραψε δηλῶν ὅτι ἕβδομον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος[1] ἄγων
3 δεύτερον ὑπατεύοι, ἠγανάκτησεν ὡς καὶ προφέροντός οἱ αὐτοῦ τό τε μειρακιῶδες καὶ τὸ παράνομον, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ τιμηθήσεσθαι προσεδόκησεν, ἔς τε τὸ συνέδριον αὐτὸν ἐσήγαγε καὶ λόγον κατ' αὐτοῦ μακρὸν ἀνέγνω· ἄλλως τε γὰρ προέχειν ἁπάντων τῶν ῥητόρων ἠξίου, καὶ ἐκεῖνον δεινότατον εἰπεῖν εἰδὼς ὄντα
4 ὑπερβαλεῖν ἐσπούδασε. πάντως τ' ἂν αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν, εἰ καὶ ἐφ' ὁποσονοῦν ἀντεπεφιλοτίμητο. νῦν δὲ ἀντεῖπε μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἀπελογήσατο οὐδέν, θαυμάζειν δὲ δὴ καὶ καταπεπλῆχθαι τὴν δεινότητα τοῦ Γαΐου προσποιησάμενος, τήν τε κατηγορίαν καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον ἐπιλέγων, ὥσπερ
5 τις ἀκροατὴς ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος ὤν, ἐπῄνει, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ λόγος αὐτῷ ἐδόθη, πρὸς ἀντιβολίαν καὶ ὀλοφυρμὸν ἐτράπετο, καὶ τέλος ἔς τε τὴν γῆν κατέπεσε καὶ χαμαὶ κείμενος ἱκέτευσεν ὡς καὶ τὸν ῥήτορα αὐτοῦ[2] μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν Καίσαρα φοβούμενος. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνος, ὁρῶν τε ταῦτα καὶ ἀκούων, διεχύθη, πιστεύσας ὄντως τῇ τῶν λόγων
6 παρασκευῇ κεκρατηκέναι αὐτοῦ· καὶ διά τε τοῦτο καὶ διὰ Κάλλιστον τὸν ἀπελεύθερον, ὃν αὐτός τε ἐτίμα καὶ ὁ Δομίτιος ἐτεθεραπεύκει, ἐπαύσατο

[1] ἔτος ἄγων Xiph. exc. Vat., ἄγων M.
[2] αὐτοῦ M Xiph., om. Zon. exc. Vat.

it isn't you that I hold to blame, but Agamemnon."[1] A.D. 39
At the time in question, Afer had set up an image of the emperor and had written an inscription for it to the effect that Gaius in his twenty-seventh year was already consul for the second time. This vexed Gaius, who felt that the other was reproaching him for his youth and for his illegal conduct. Hence for this action, for which Afer had looked to be honoured, the emperor brought him at once before the senate and read a long speech against him. For Gaius always claimed to surpass all the orators, and knowing that his adversary was an extremely gifted speaker, he strove on this occasion to excel him. And he would certainly have put Afer to death, if the latter had entered into the least competition with him. As it was, the man made no answer or defence, but pretended to be astonished and overcome by the ability of Gaius, and repeating the accusation point by point, praised it as if he were a mere listener and not himself on trial. When the opportunity was given him to speak, he had recourse to entreaties and lamentations; and finally he threw himself on the ground and lying there prostrate played the suppliant to his accuser, pretending to fear him more as an orator than as Caesar. Gaius, accordingly, when he saw and heard all this, was melted, believing that he had really overwhelmed Domitius by the eloquence of his speech. For this reason, then, as well as for the sake of Callistus, the freedman, whom he was wont to honour and whose favour Domitius

[1] Based on the words of Achilles to the heralds of Agamemnon who come to take Briseis from him; see Hom., *Il.* I, 335. Agrippina saw in Domitius merely the agent of Tiberius.

ὀργιζόμενος. καὶ τῷ γε Καλλίστῳ αἰτιασαμένῳ αὐτὸν ὕστερον ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ κατηγόρησεν, ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι "οὐκ ἔδει με τοιοῦτον
7 λόγον ἀποκεκρύφθαι." Δομίτιος μὲν δὴ καταγνωσθεὶς μηκέτι δεινὸς εἶναι λέγειν ἐσώθη· ὁ δὲ δὴ Σενέκας[1] ὁ Ἀνναῖος[2] ὁ[3] Λούκιος, ὁ πάντας μὲν τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν Ῥωμαίους πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους σοφίᾳ ὑπεράρας, διεφθάρη παρ' ὀλίγον μήτ' ἀδικήσας τι μήτε δόξας, ὅτι δίκην τινὰ ἐν
8 τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρόντος αὐτοῦ καλῶς εἶπε. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἀποθανεῖν κελεύσας ἀφῆκε, γυναικί τινι ὧν ἐχρῆτο πιστεύσας ὅτι φθόῃ[4] τε ἔχοιτο κακῶς καὶ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν τελευτήσοι.

20 Τὸν δὲ Δομίτιον καὶ ὕπατον εὐθὺς ἀπέδειξε, τοὺς τότε ἄρχοντας καταλύσας, ὅτι τε ἐς τὰ γενέθλια αὐτοῦ ἱερομηνίαν οὐκ ἐπήγγειλαν, καίτοι τῶν στρατηγῶν ἱπποδρομίαν ἐν αὐτοῖς[5] ποιησάντων καὶ θηρία ἀποκτεινάντων, ὅπερ που καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ Αὐγούστου νίκαις ἃς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐνενικήκει
2 ἑορτήν, ὥσπερ εἴθιστο, ἤγαγον. ἵνα γὰρ συκοφαντήσῃ αὐτούς, τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἀπόγονος δοκεῖν εἶναι ἠθέλησε· καὶ προεῖπέ[6] γε[7] οἷς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀνεκοίνου, ὅτι πάντως ὁπότερον ἄν τι ποιήσωσιν ἁμαρτήσουσιν, ἄν τε ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου συμφορᾷ βουθυτήσωσιν,[8] ἄν τε ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Αὐγούστου νίκῃ ἄθυτοι

[1] Σενέκας exc. Vat., σεννέκας M Xiph.
[2] Ἀνναῖος Bs., ἄννιος M, ἄνιος Xiph., ἄννεος or ἄννεας exc. Vat. [3] ὁ supplied by Bk. [4] φθόῃ Xiph., φθόης M.
[5] ἐν αὐτοῖς Leuncl., ἐν αὐτῷ M Xiph.
[6] προεῖπέ Xiph., προσεῖπέ M. [7] γε Xiph., τε M.

had courted, he gave up his resentment. And when Callistus later blamed him for having accused the man in the first place, he answered: "It would not have been right for me to keep such a speech to myself." Thus Domitius was saved by being convicted of being no longer a skilful orator. On the other hand, Lucius Annaeus Seneca, who was superior in wisdom to all the Romans of his day and to many others as well, came near being destroyed, though he had neither done any wrong nor had the appearance of doing so, but merely because he pleaded a case well in the senate while the emperor was present. Gaius ordered him to be put to death, but afterwards let him off because he believed the statement of one of his female associates, to the effect that Seneca had consumption in an advanced stage and would die before a great while. A.D. 39

He immediately appointed Domitius consul, after removing those who were then in office because they had failed to proclaim a thanksgiving on his birthday (the praetors, it is true, had held a horse-race and had slaughtered some wild beasts, but this happened every year) and because they had celebrated a festival to commemorate the victories of Augustus over Antony, as was customary; for, in order to invent some ground of complaint against them, he chose to pose as a descendant of Antony rather than of Augustus. Indeed, he had announced beforehand to those with whom he regularly shared his secrets, that whichever course the consuls followed they would certainly make a mistake, whether, that is, they offered sacrifices to celebrate Antony's overthrow or refrained from sacrificing in honour of

[a] *βουθυτήσαισιν* Xiph., *βουθυτήσουσιν* M.

3 γένωνται. ἐκείνους μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα αὐθημερὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔπαυσε, τὰς ῥάβδους σφῶν προσυντρίψας, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ ὁ ἕτερος αὐτῶν ἀδημονήσας ἑαυτὸν ἔσφαξε· τὸν δὲ δὴ Δομίτιον τὸν συνάρχοντα αὐτοῦ λόγῳ μὲν ὁ δῆμος ἔργῳ δ' αὐτὸς εἵλετο. ἀπέδωκε μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας αὐτοῖς·
4 ἅτε δὲ ἐκείνων τε ἀργοτέρων ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλῷ χρόνῳ μηδὲν ἐλευθέρως κεχρηματικέναι ἐς τὸ δρᾶν τι τῶν προσηκόντων σφίσιν ὄντων, καὶ τῶν σπουδαρχιώντων μάλιστα μὲν μὴ πλειόνων ἢ ὅσους αἱρεῖσθαι ἔδει ἐπαγγελλόντων, εἰ δέ ποτε καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀριθμὸν γένοιντο, διομολογουμένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τὸ μὲν σχῆμα τῆς δημοκρατίας ἐσώζετο, ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν αὐτῆς ἐγί-
5 γνετο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ αὖθις τοῦ Γαΐου κατελύθησαν. κἀκ τούτου τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου καθίστατο, στρατηγοὶ δὲ τοτὲ μὲν πεντεκαίδεκα, ἔστι δ' ὅτε ἑνὶ πλείους ἢ καὶ ἐλάττους, ὥς που καὶ ἔτυχον, ᾑροῦντο.

6 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ταῦτ' ἔπραξεν, οὕτω δὲ δὴ τὸ σύμπαν καὶ βάσκανος καὶ ὕποπτος πρὸς πάντα ὁμοίως ἦν ὥστε καὶ Καρρίναν[1] Σεκοῦνδον ῥήτορα φυγαδεῦσαί ποτε, ὅτι λόγον
7 τινὰ ἐν γυμνασίᾳ κατὰ τυράννων εἶπεν. ἐπειδή τε Λούκιος Πίσων ὁ τῆς τε Πλαγκίνης καὶ τοῦ Γναίου Πίσωνος υἱὸς ἄρξαι[2] τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἔτυχεν, ἐφοβήθη μὴ νεωτερίσῃ τι ὑπὸ μεγαλαυχίας, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι δύναμιν πολλὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν καὶ ξενικὴν ἕξειν ἔμελλε, καὶ δίχα τὸ ἔθνος νείμας ἑτέρῳ τό τε στρατιωτικὸν καὶ τοὺς Νομάδας

[1] Καρρίναν Bs., καρίναν M, καρίναν Xiph.

Augustus' victory. These were the reasons, then, why he summarily dismissed these officials, first breaking in pieces their fasces; whereupon one of them took it so much to heart that he killed himself. As for Domitius, he was chosen as the emperor's colleague, nominally by the people, but actually by Gaius himself. The latter had, to be sure, restored the elections to the people, but they had become rather lax in the performance of their duties because for a long time they had not transacted any business in the manner of freemen; and as a rule no more candidates presented themselves than the number to be chosen, or, if ever there were more than were required, the outcome was arranged among themselves. Thus the democracy was preserved in appearance, but there was no democracy in fact; and this led Gaius himself to abolish the elections once more. After this matters went on in general as in the reign of Tiberius; but as regards the praetors, sometimes fifteen were chosen and sometimes one more or one less, just as it happened. Such was the action he took regarding the elections. A.D. 39

In general his attitude was one of envy and suspicion toward everything alike. Thus he banished Carrinas Secundus, an orator, for delivering a speech against tyrants as a rhetorical exercise. Again, when the lot fell upon Lucius Piso, the son of Plancina and Gnaeus Piso, to become governor of Africa, he feared that arrogance might lead him to revolt, especially as he was to have a large force made up of both citizens and foreigners; hence he divided the province into two parts, assigning the military force together with the Numidians in its vicinity to

² ἄρξαι Bs., ἄρξας M.

τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸ προσέταξε· καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ δεῦρο τοῦτο γίγνεται.

21 Καὶ ἤδη γὰρ τά τε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ χρήματα πάντα ὡς εἰπεῖν, ὅθεν τι καὶ ὁπωσοῦν οἷόν τε ἦν αὐτῷ λαβεῖν, ἀναλώκει, καὶ οὔτε ἐνταῦθα πόρος τις ἀξιόχρεως ἢ καὶ δυνατὸς εὑρίσκετο, καὶ αἱ δαπάναι ὑπερήπειγον
2 αὐτόν, ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν ἀφώρμησε, πρόφασιν μὲν τοὺς Κελτοὺς τοὺς πολεμίους ὡς καὶ παρακινοῦντάς τι ποιησάμενος, ἔργῳ δὲ ὅπως καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων ἀνθοῦντα τοῖς πλούτοις καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἰβήρων ἐκχρηματίσηται. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἄντικρυς τὴν ἔξοδον προεπήγγειλεν,[1] ἀλλ' ἐς προάστειόν τι ἐλθὼν εἶτ' ἐξαίφνης ἀπῆρε, πολλοὺς μὲν ὀρχηστὰς πολλοὺς δὲ μονομάχους ἵππους γυναῖκας τὴν
3 ἄλλην τρυφὴν ἐπαγόμενος. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐκεῖσε τῶν μὲν πολεμίων οὐδένα ἐκάκωσεν (εὐθύς τε γὰρ ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ῥήνου προχωρήσας ὑπέστρεψε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὁρμήσας ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν στρατεύσων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ἀνεκομίσθη, καὶ τοῖς ὑποστρατήγοις τοῖς κατορθοῦσί τι πάνυ ἤχθετο), τοὺς δ' ὑπηκόους τούς τε συμμάχους καὶ τοὺς πολίτας πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα ἐκακούρ-
4 γησε. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τούς τι ἔχοντας ἐπὶ πάσῃ προφάσει ἐσύλα, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ δῶρα οἵ τε ἰδιῶται καὶ αἱ πόλεις ἑκοῦσαι δῆθεν μεγάλα αὐτῷ ἦγον. ἄλλους ὡς[2] νεωτερίζοντας, ἄλλους ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντάς οἱ ἐφόνευε· καὶ ἦν δημόσιον ἔγκλημα
5 πᾶσί σφισι τὸ πλουτεῖν. καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ κτήματα

[1] προεπήγγειλεν Pflugk, προαπήγγειλεν M cod. Peir.
[2] ὡς supplied by Leuncl.

another official, an arrangement that has continued from that time down to the present. A.D. 39

Gaius had now spent practically all the money in Rome and the rest of Italy, gathered from every source from which he could in any way get it, and as no source of revenue in considerable amount or practicable to collect could be found there, and his expenses were pressing him hard, he set out for Gaul, ostensibly because the hostile Germans were stirring up trouble, but in reality with the purpose of exploiting both Gaul with its abounding wealth and Spain also. However, he did not openly announce his expedition beforehand, but went first to one of the suburbs and then suddenly set out on the journey, taking with him many actors, many gladiators, horses, women, and all the other trappings of luxury. When he reached his destination, he did no harm to any of the enemy—in fact, as soon as he had proceeded a short distance beyond the Rhine, he returned, and then set out as if to conduct a campaign against Britain, but turned back from the ocean's edge, showing no little vexation at his lieutenants who won some slight success—but upon the subject peoples, the allies, and the citizens he inflicted vast and innumerable ills. In the first place, he despoiled those who possessed anything, on any and every excuse; and secondly, both private citizens and cities brought him large gifts voluntarily, as it was made to appear. He murdered some men on the ground that they were rebelling, and others on the ground that they were conspiring against him; but the real complaint was one and the same for the whole people—the fact that they were rich. By selling their possessions himself, he realized far

αὐτὸς πιπράσκων πολλῷ καὶ ἐκ τούτου πλείω
ἠργυρολόγει· πάντες γὰρ ἠναγκάζοντο παντοίως
τε καὶ πολύ γε ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν ὠνεῖσθαι, δι' ἃ
εἴρηκα. ἀφ' οὗπερ καὶ τὰ τῆς μοναρχίας κειμήλια
τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τιμιώτατα μεταπεμψάμενος
ἀπεκήρυξε, τὴν δόξαν τῶν ποτε χρησαμένων
6 αὐτοῖς συμπωλῶν σφισιν. ἐπέλεγε γοῦν ἐφ'
ἑκάστῳ "τοῦτό μου ὁ πατὴρ ἐκτήσατο, τοῦτο
ἡ μήτηρ, τοῦτο ὁ πάππος, τοῦτο ὁ πρόπαππος·
Ἀντωνίου τοῦτο Αἰγύπτιον, Αὐγούστου τὸ νικη-
τήριον." κἀν τούτῳ τήν τε ἀνάγκην ἅμα τῆς
πράσεως αὐτῶν ἐνεδείκνυτο, ὥστε μηδένα ὑπομέ-
νειν ἀπορεῖν[1] δοκεῖν, καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμά σφισι
συναπεδίδοτο.

22 Οὐ μέντοι καὶ περιεποιεῖτό τι, ἀλλ' ἔς τε τἆλλα
ἐδαπάνα ὥσπερ εἰώθει (καὶ γὰρ θέας τινὰς ἐν τῷ
Λουγδούνῳ ἐπετέλεσε), καὶ ἐς τὰ στρατεύματα·
εἴκοσι γάρ, ὡς δέ τινές φασι, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι
2 μυριάδας στρατιωτῶν ἤθροισε. καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν
ἑπτάκις αὐτοκράτωρ, ὥς που καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ,
μήτε μάχην τινὰ νικήσας μήτε πολέμιόν τινα
ἀποκτείνας ἐπωνομάσθη. ἐκείνων μὲν γὰρ ὀλίγους
ποτὲ ἀπάτῃ τινὶ συλλαβὼν ἔδησε, τοῦ δὲ δὴ
οἰκείου πολὺ μέρος ἀνάλωσε, τοὺς μὲν καθ' ἑκά-
στους κατακόπτων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀθρόους ἅμα
3 πάντας φονεύσας. ἰδὼν γάρ ποτε ὄχλον εἴτε
δεσμωτῶν εἴτε καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν, προσέταξε τοῦτο
δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον, ἀπὸ τοῦ φαλακροῦ μέχρι τοῦ

[1] ἀπορεῖν Bk., εὐπορεῖν M cod. Peir.

greater sums than would otherwise have been the case; for everybody was compelled to buy them at any price and for much more than their value, for the reasons I have mentioned.[1] Accordingly, he sent also for the finest and most precious heirlooms of the monarchy and sold them off by auction, selling with them the fame of the persons who had once used them. Thus he would make some comment on each one, such as, "this belonged to my father," "this to my mother," "this to my grandfather," "this to my great-grandfather," "this Egyptian piece was Antony's, the prize of victory for Augustus." At the same time he also explained the necessity of selling them, so that no one could persist in pretending to be poor; and thus he made them buy the reputation of each article along with the thing itself. A.D. 39

In spite of all this he did not secure any surplus, but kept up his customary expenditures, not only for other objects that interested him—exhibiting, for example, some games at Lugdunum—but especially for the legions. For he had gathered together two hundred thousand troops, or, as some say, two hundred and fifty thousand. He was acclaimed *imperator* by them seven times, as his whim directed, though he had won no battle and slain no enemy. To be sure, he did once by a ruse seize and bind a few of the foe, whereas he used up a large part of his own force, striking some of them down one at a time and butchering others *en masse*. Thus, on one occasion, when he saw a crowd of prisoners or some other persons, he gave orders, in the famous phrase, that they should all be slain "from baldhead to bald-

[1] In chap. 14.

φαλακροῦ πάντας αὐτοὺς σφαγῆναι. κυβεύων
δέ ποτε, καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι οὐκ εἴη οἱ ἀργύριον, ᾔτησέ
τε τὰς τῶν Γαλατῶν ἀπογραφάς, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν
4 τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους θανατωθῆναι κελεύσας, ἐπ-
ανῆλθέ τε πρὸς τοὺς συγκυβευτὰς καὶ ἔφη ὅτι
"ὑμεῖς περὶ ὀλίγων δραχμῶν ἀγωνίζεσθε, ἐγὼ δὲ
ἐς μυρίας καὶ πεντακισχιλίας μυριάδας ἤθροισα."
καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐν[1] οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἀπώλοντο· ἀμέλει
εἷς τις αὐτῶν Ἰούλιος Σακερδὼς ἄλλως μὲν εὖ
χρημάτων ἥκων, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὑπερπλουτῶν ὥστε
καὶ ἐπιβουλευθῆναι δι᾽ αὐτά, ὅμως ἐξ ἐπωνυμίας
5 ἀπεσφάγη· οὕτως ἀκρίτως πάντα ἐγίγνετο. τῶν
δὲ ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς οὐδὲν δέομαι ὀνομαστὶ
καταλέγειν, ὧν δὲ δὴ ἡ ἱστορία τὴν μνήμην
ἀπαιτεῖ, φράσω. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Γαιτούλικον[2]
Λέντουλον, τά τε ἄλλα εὐδόκιμον ὄντα καὶ τῆς
Γερμανίας δέκα ἔτεσιν ἄρξαντα, ἀπέκτεινεν, ὅτι
6 τοῖς στρατιώταις ᾠκείωτο· τοῦτο δὲ τὸν Λέπιδον
ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἐραστὴν τὸν ἐρώμενον, τὸν τῆς Δρου-
σίλλης ἄνδρα, τὸν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις αὐτοῦ ἀδελφαῖς
τῇ τε Ἀγριππίνῃ καὶ τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ
ἐκείνου συνόντα, ᾧ πέντε ἔτεσι θᾶσσον τὰς ἀρχὰς
7 παρὰ τοὺς νόμους αἰτῆσαι ἐπέτρεψεν, ὃν καὶ διά-
δοχον τῆς ἡγεμονίας καταλείψειν ἐπηγγέλλετο,
κατεφόνευσε. καὶ τοῖς τε στρατιώταις ἀργύριον
ἐπὶ τούτῳ, καθάπερ πολεμίων τινῶν κεκρατηκώς,
ἔδωκε, καὶ ξιφίδια τρία τῷ Ἄρει τῷ Τιμωρῷ ἐς
8 τὴν Ῥώμην ἔπεμψε. τάς τε ἀδελφὰς ἐπὶ τῇ
συνουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰς Ποντίας νήσους κατέθετο,

[1] ἐν supplied by Rk.
[2] Γαιτούλικον R. Steph., γαιτούλιχον M.

head."[1] At another time he was playing at dice, and finding that he had no money, he called for the census lists of the Gauls and ordered the wealthiest of them to be put to death; then, returning to his fellow-gamesters, he said: "Here you are playing for a few denarii, while I have taken in a good hundred and fifty millions."[2] So these men perished without any consideration. Indeed, one of them, Julius Sacerdos, who was fairly well off, yet not so extremely wealthy as to become the object of attack on that account, was slain simply because of a similarity of names. This shows how carelessly everything was done. As for the others who perished, there is no need of my naming over most of them, but I will mention those of whom history requires some record. In the first place, then, he put to death Lentulus Gaetulicus, who had an excellent reputation in every way and had been governor of Germany for ten years, for the reason that he was endeared to the soldiers. Another of his victims was Lepidus, that lover and favourite of his, the husband of Drusilla, the man who had together with Gaius maintained improper relations with the emperor's other sisters, Agrippina and Julia, the man whom he had allowed to stand for office five years earlier than was permitted by law and whom he kept declaring he would leave as his successor to the throne. To celebrate this man's death he gave the soldiers money, as though he had defeated some enemies, and sent three daggers to Mars Ultor in Rome. He deported his sisters to the Pontian Islands because of their relations with A.D. 39

[1] Similarly Sueton., *Cal.* 27. Presumably there happened to be a bald-headed man at either end of the line.

[2] Denarii. 150,000,000 denarii = 600,000,000 sesterces.

πολλὰ περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσεβῆ καὶ ἀσελγῆ τῷ
συνεδρίῳ γράψας· καὶ τῇ γε Ἀγριππίνῃ τὰ ὀστᾶ
αὐτοῦ ἐν ὑδρίᾳ ἔδωκε, κελεύσας οἱ ἐν τοῖς κόλποις
αὐτὴν διὰ πάσης τῆς[1] ὁδοῦ ἔχουσαν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην
9 ἀνενεγκεῖν. ἐπειδή τε συχνὰ αὐταῖς δι' ἐκεῖνον
δῆλον ὅτι προεψήφιστο,[2] ἀπηγόρευσε μηδενὶ τῶν
συγγενῶν αὐτοῦ μηδεμίαν τιμὴν δίδοσθαι.

23 Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, ὡς καὶ μεγάλην τινὰ ἐπι-
βουλὴν διαπεφευγώς, ἐπέστειλε· πάνυ γὰρ δὴ
καὶ ἄλλως προσεποιεῖτο ἐν δεινοῖς τε εἶναι καὶ
2 ταλαιπώρως διάγειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ μαθόντες αὐτὰ οἱ
βουλευταὶ ἄλλα τέ τινα αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια τὰ
σμικρότερα ἐψηφίσαντο, πρέσβεις τε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς
ἄλλους κλήρῳ καὶ τὸν Κλαύδιον αἱρετὸν ἔπεμψαν,
τοῦτό τε ἐδυσχέρανεν, ὥστε καὶ αὖθις ἀπειπεῖν
μήτε ἐπαίνου τι μήτε τιμῆς ἐχόμενον τοῖς συγγε-
νέσιν αὐτοῦ γίγνεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι μὴ κατ' ἀξίαν
3 τετιμῆσθαι ἐδόκει.[3] πάντα τε γὰρ ἀεὶ τὰ διδό-
μενα αὐτῷ παρ' οὐδὲν ἐτίθετο, καὶ ἤχθετο μὲν
εἰ μικρά τινα ψηφισθείη, ὡς καταφρονούμενος,
ἤχθετο δὲ καὶ εἰ μείζω, ὡς καὶ τῆς τῶν λοιπῶν
ἐξουσίας ἀφαιρούμενος. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐβούλετο
δοκεῖν τι τῶν τιμήν τινα αὐτῷ φερόντων ἐπ'
αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ κρείττοσιν αὐτοῦ οὖσι καὶ χαρί-
σασθαί οἱ[4] ὡς καὶ ἥττονί σφών τι δυναμένοις
4 εἶναι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις τινὰ οὐχ ὡς καὶ
αὔξησιν τῆς λαμπρότητος ἀλλ' ὡς καθαίρεσιν
τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτῷ φέροντα διέβαλλε. καὶ μέντοι

[1] τῆς supplied by Bk.
[2] προεψήφιστο Reim., προσεψηφίσατο M cod. Peir.
[3] ἐδόκει Reim., δόκει M cod. Peir.
[4] χαρίσασθαί οἱ Oddey, χαρίσασθαι σφῶν οἱ M.

Lepidus, having first accused them in a communication to the senate of many impious and immoral actions. Agrippina was given Lepidus' bones in an urn and bidden to carry it back to Rome, keeping it in her bosom during the whole journey. Also, since many honours had been voted earlier to his sisters manifestly on his account, he forbade the awarding of any distinction to any of his relatives. A.D. 39

He sent a report about these matters to the senate at the time, just as if he had escaped some great plot; for he was always pretending to be in danger and to be leading a miserable existence. The senators, on being apprised of it, voted him an ovation among other things, and they sent envoys to announce their action, choosing some of them by lot, but directly appointing Claudius. This also displeased Gaius, to such an extent that he again forbade the bestowing of anything involving praise or honour upon his relatives; and he felt, besides, that he had not been honoured as he deserved. For that matter, he always counted as naught all the honours that were granted to him. It irritated him to have small distinctions voted, since that implied a slight, and greater distinctions irritated him also, since thus the possibility of further honours seemed to be taken from him. For he did not for a moment wish it to appear that anything that brought him honour was in the power of the senators, since that would imply that they were his superiors and could grant him favours as if he were their inferior. For this reason he frequently found fault with various honours conferred upon him, on the ground that they did not increase his splendour but rather destroyed his power. And yet, though he felt thus, he used to

καὶ[1] ταῦθ' οὕτω φρονῶν ὠργίζετο αὐτοῖς, εἴ ποτε
ἐλάττω σφᾶς τῆς ἀξίας ἐψηφίσθαι οἱ ἔδοξεν.
οὕτω που ἔμπληκτος ἦν, καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτοῦ ῥᾳδίως
5 τυχεῖν ἐδύνατο. ἐκείνους μὲν οὖν τοὺς πρέσβεις
διὰ ταῦθ' ὡς καὶ κατασκόπους ὑπιδόμενος, οὔτε
πάντας προσεδέξατο, ἀλλ' ὀλίγους ἐπιλεξάμενος
τοὺς λοιπούς, πρὶν ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν ἐλθεῖν, ἀπε-
πέμψατο, οὔθ' οὓς γε προσήκατο σεμνοῦ τινος
ἠξίωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Κλαύδιον ἀπέκτεινεν ἄν,
εἰ μὴ κατεφρόνησεν αὐτοῦ τὰ μὲν τῇ φύσει τὰ
δὲ καὶ ἐκ προνοίας πολλὴν νωθείαν προσποιου-
6 μένου. ἑτέρους δὲ αὖθις πλείους τε πεμφθέντας
(πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν προ-
τέρων ᾐτιᾶτο) καὶ πολλά τινα[2] ἐψηφίσθαι οἱ
ἀγγέλλοντας ἡδέως ὑπεδέξατο, καὶ προαπήντησέ
τε αὐτοῖς, ὑφ' ὧν καὶ αὐτῶν αὖθις ἐτιμήθη.
7 Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο· τότε δὲ
ἐκβαλὼν τὴν Παυλῖναν, προφάσει μὲν ὡς μὴ
τίκτουσαν, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ὅτι διακορὴς αὐτῆς ἐγε-
γόνει, Μιλωνίαν Καισωνίαν ἔγημεν, ἣν πρότερον
μὲν ἐμοίχευε, τότε δὲ καὶ γαμετὴν ποιήσασθαι
ἠθέλησεν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔσχεν, ἵν' αὐτῷ παι-
8 δίον τριακονθήμερον τέκῃ. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ
ἐταράττοντο μὲν καὶ ἐκ τούτων, ἐταράττοντο δὲ
καὶ ὅτι δίκαι σφίσιν ἐπί τε τῇ πρὸς τὰς ἀδελφὰς
αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς τοὺς πεφονευμένους φιλίᾳ
πολλαὶ ἐπήγοντο, ὡς καὶ ἀγορανόμους στρατηγούς
τέ τινας ἀναγκασθῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπειπόντας
9 κριθῆναι. κἀν τούτῳ καὶ ὑπὸ καυμάτων ἐτα-
λαιπώρησαν· τοσαύτη γὰρ ὑπερβολὴ αὐτῶν ἐγέ-

[1] καὶ cod. Peir., om. M.
[2] τινα Leuncl., τι M.

become angry with them if it ever seemed that they had voted to him less than he deserved. So capricious was he; and no one could easily suit him. Accordingly, he would not, for these reasons, receive all the above-mentioned envoys, affecting to mistrust them as spies, but chose a few, and sent the rest back before they reached Gaul. And even those whom he admitted to his presence he did not deign to treat with any respect; indeed, he would have killed Claudius, had he not felt contempt for him, inasmuch as the latter, partly by his nature and partly by deliberate intent, gave the impression of great stupidity. But when another embassy was sent out larger than before (for he had complained among other things of the small size of the first) and brought word that many marks of distinction had been voted to him, he received them gladly, even going forth to meet them, and for this very action he received fresh honours at their hands; but this happened later. A.D. 39

Gaius now divorced Paulina, on the pretext that she was barren, but really because he had got tired of her, and married Milonia Caesonia. This woman had formerly been his mistress, but now, since she was pregnant, he desired to make her his wife, so that she should bear him a one-month's child. The people of Rome were disturbed by this behaviour, and disturbed also because many trials were being brought against them, as a result of the friendship they had shown toward his sisters and toward the men who had been murdered; even some aediles and praetors were compelled to resign their offices and stand trial. Meanwhile they also suffered from the hot weather, which became so extremely severe

νετο ὥστε καὶ παραπετάσματα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγορᾶς
ὑπερταθῆναι. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τότε φεύγουσι καὶ
ὁ Τιγελλῖνος ὁ Ὀφώνιος,[1] ὡς καὶ τὴν Ἀγριππῖναν
μεμοιχευκώς, ἐξέπεσεν.

24 Οὐ μέντοι ταῦθ' οὕτως αὐτοὺς ἐλύπει ὡς τὸ
προσδοκᾶν ἐπὶ πλεῖον τήν τε ὠμότητα τὴν τοῦ
Γαΐου καὶ τὴν ἀσέλγειαν αὐξήσειν, καὶ μάλισθ'
ὅτι ἐπυνθάνοντο τόν τε Ἀγρίππαν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν
Ἀντίοχον τοὺς βασιλέας ὥσπερ τινὰς τυραννοδι-
2 δασκάλους συνεῖναι. καὶ διὰ ταῦθ' ὑπατεύοντος
αὐτοῦ τὸ τρίτον οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν δημάρχων οὔτε
τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀθροῖσαι τὴν γερουσίαν ἐτόλ-
μησε· συνάρχοντα γάρ, οὔτι[2] καὶ ἐπιτηδεύσας,
ὥσπερ οἴονταί τινες, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν προαποδεδειγ-
μένου τελευτήσαντος, ἑτέρου δὲ μηδενὸς δι'
ὀλίγου οὕτως ἐν τῇ ἐκδημίᾳ[3] αὐτοῦ ἀντικατα-
3 στῆναι δυνηθέντος, οὐδένα ἔσχε. καὶ ἔδει μέν που
τοὺς στρατηγούς, οἷς τὰ τῶν ὑπάτων ἔργα ὁπόταν
ἀποδημήσωσι μέλει, πάντα αὐτὰ ἐπιτετελεκέναι·
ὅπως δὲ δὴ μὴ καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος δόξωσί
τι πεποιηκέναι, οὐδὲν τῶν καθηκόντων ἔπραξαν,[4]
4 ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀθρόοι οἱ βουλευταὶ ἀνα-
βάντες τάς τε θυσίας ἔθυσαν καὶ τὸν τοῦ Γαΐου
δίφρον τὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ κείμενον προσεκύνησαν,
καὶ ἔτι καὶ ἀργύριον κατὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ Αὐγούστου
ἔθος ἰσχῦσαν, ὡς καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ διδόντες, κατέ-
5 θεσαν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ τῷ ἑξῆς ἔτει ὁμοίως
ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ συνῆλθον μὲν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὸ
συνέδριον μηδενός σφας ἀθροίσαντος, ἔπραξαν

[1] ὁ Ὀφώνιος Bs., σοφώνιος M.
[2] οὔτι H. Steph., οὗτοι M.

that awnings were stretched across the Forum. A.D. 39
Among the men exiled at this time Ofonius Tigellinus was banished on the charge of having had improper relations with Agrippina.

All this, however, did not distress the people so much as did their expectation that Gaius' cruelty and licentiousness would go to still greater lengths. And they were particularly troubled on ascertaining that King Agrippa and King Antiochus were with him, like two tyrant-trainers. Consequently, while A.D. 40
he was consul for the third time none of the tribunes or praetors ventured to convene the senate. (He had no colleague, though this was not, as some think, intentional, but rather due to the fact that the consul designate died and no one else could be appointed in his stead on such short notice in the emperor's absence.) Of course the praetors, whose office it is to perform the duties of the consuls in their absence from the city, ought to have attended to all the necessary business; but, fearing it might appear that they had acted in the emperor's place, they performed none of those duties. The senators, nevertheless, went up to the Capitol in a body, offered the regular sacrifices, and did obeisance to the chair of Gaius that was in the temple; furthermore, in accordance with the custom prevailing in the time of Augustus, they left money, acting as though they were giving it to the emperor himself. The same course was followed the next year also; but at the time of the events just narrated they assembled in the senate-house after these ceremonies, though

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3 ἐκδημίᾳ Rk., ἐκκλησίαι M.
4 ἔπραξαν R. Steph., ἔπραξεν M.

δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἔν τε τοῖς ἐπαίνοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ εὐχαῖς κατέ-
6 τριψαν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὔτ' ἐφίλουν αὐτὸν οὔτε σώζεσθαι ἐβούλοντο, ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀμφότερα, ὡς καὶ τὸ συνειδός σφων διὰ τοῦτο ἐπηλυγασόμενοι, προσεποιήσαντο. καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τὰς εὐχὰς ἐχούσῃ συνῆλθον μέν, πάντων τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκ κοινοῦ προγράμματος τὴν σύνοδόν σφισιν ἐπαγγειλάντων, ἐχρημάτισαν δὲ οὔτε τότε οὔτε αὖθις οὐδέν, μέχρις οὗ ὁ Γάιος δωδεκάτῃ
7 ἡμέρᾳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπειπὼν ἠγγέλθη. τότε γὰρ παραλαβόντες αὐτὴν οἱ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα κεχειροτονημένοι διώκουν τὰ προσήκοντα σφίσι, καὶ ἐψηφίσθη ἄλλα τε καὶ ἵνα τοῖς τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ τοῖς τῆς Δρουσίλλης γενεσίοις τὰ αὐτὰ ἅπερ καὶ τοῖς τοῦ Αὐγούστου γίγνηται. καί τινα καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ὀρχήστρας ἄνδρες πανήγυρίν τε ἐπετέλεσαν καὶ θέαν παρέσχοντο, καὶ[1] εἰκόνα τοῦ τε Γαΐου καὶ τῆς Δρουσίλλης στήσαντες ὡσίωσαν.
8 ταῦτα δὲ ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς που τῆς τοῦ Γαΐου ἐπράχθη· καὶ γὰρ τἆλλα ὅσα χρηματίζεσθαι ἐβούλετο, ὀλίγα μὲν πᾶσι τοῖς βουλευταῖς, τὰ δὲ δὴ πλείω τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἔγραφε,[2] καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἔστιν ὅτε ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἀναγιγνώσκεσθαι ἐκέλευε.

25 Καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔπραττον, Γάιος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τόν τε Πτολεμαῖον τὸν τοῦ Ἰούβα παῖδα μεταπέμψας, καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι πλουτεῖ, ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ . . .[3]

[1] καὶ supplied by R. Steph. [2] ἔγραφε Bs., γράφων M.
[3] At this point a quaternion has been lost from M; the MS. resumes at lx. 2, 1.

no one had convened them, and yet transacted no business, but merely wasted the whole day in laudations of Gaius and prayers in his behalf. For since they had no love for him nor any wish that he should survive, they went to greater lengths in simulating both these feelings, as if hoping in this way to disguise their real sentiments. On the third day, which was the day devoted to prayers, they came together in response to an announcement of a meeting made by all the praetors in a joint notice; nevertheless, they transacted no business on this occasion or later, until, on the twelfth day, word was brought that Gaius had resigned his office.[1] Then the men who had been elected for the second portion of the year succeeded to the position and administered the duties of their office. Among other votes passed was one providing that the birthdays of Tiberius and Drusilla should be celebrated in the same manner as that of Augustus. The people connected with the stage also exhibited a festival, furnished a spectacle, and set up and dedicated images of Gaius and Drusilla. All this was done, of course, in response to a message from Gaius; for whenever he wished any business brought up, he communicated a small portion of it in writing to all the senators, but most of it to the consuls, and then sometimes ordered this to be read in the senate. A.D. 40

While the senators were passing these decrees, Gaius sent for Ptolemy, the son of Juba, and on learning that he was wealthy put him to death and . . .

[1] The consulship.

(Ὡς αἱ Μαυριτανίαι ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχεσθαι
ἤρξαντο.—Index Lib. LIX.)
Ἐς δὲ τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐλθὼν ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ
Βρεττανίᾳ στρατεύσων, καὶ πάντας τοὺς στρα-
2 τιώτας ἐν τῇ ἠόνι παρατάξας, τριήρους τε ἐπέβη
καὶ ὀλίγον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀπάρας ἀνέπλευσε, καὶ
μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ βήματος ὑψηλοῦ ἱζήσας καὶ
σύνθημα τοῖς στρατιώταις ὡς ἐς μάχην δούς,
τοῖς τε σαλπικταῖς[1] ἐξοτρύνας αὐτούς, εἶτ᾽[2]
ἐξαίφνης ἐκέλευσέ σφισι τὰ κογχύλια συλλέ-
3 ξασθαι. λαβών τε τὰ σκῦλα ταῦτα (καὶ γὰρ
λαφύρων δῆλον ὅτι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐπινικίων
πομπὴν ἐδεῖτο) μέγα τε ἐφρόνησεν ὡς καὶ τὸν
ὠκεανὸν αὐτὸν δεδουλωμένος, καὶ τοῖς στρα-
τιώταις πολλὰ ἐδωρήσατο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν
Ῥώμην τὰ κογχύλια ἀνεκόμισεν, ἵνα καὶ ἐκείνοις
4 τὰ λάφυρα δείξῃ· ἡ δὲ βουλὴ οὔθ᾽ ὅπως ἐπὶ
τούτοις ἡσυχάζοι εἶχεν, ὅτι μεγαλοφρονούμενον
αὐτὸν ἐπυνθάνετο, οὔθ᾽ ὅπως αὐτὸν ἐπαινέσειεν·
ἂν γάρ τις ἐπὶ μηδεμιᾷ ἢ μικρᾷ τινι ἀνδραγαθίᾳ
ἤτοι ἐπαίνους μεγάλους ἢ καὶ τιμὰς ἐξαισίους
ποιῆται, διαμωκᾶσθαί τε καὶ διασιλλοῦν[3] αὐτὴν
5 ὑποπτεύεται. ὅμως ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὴν
μὲν βουλὴν ὀλίγου ἐδέησεν ἀπολέσαι πᾶσαν, ὅτι
μὴ τὰ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσατο,[4] τὸν δὲ
δῆμον ἀθροίσας πολὺ μὲν ἀργύριον ἐκ μετεώρου
τινὸς πολὺ δὲ χρυσίον ἔρριψε, καὶ πολλοὶ[5]
ἀπώλοντο διαρπάζοντες· σιδήρια γὰρ μικρὰ ἄττα

[1] σαλπικταῖς Dind., σαλπιγκταῖς VCL′.
[2] εἶτ᾽ VL′, ὅτ᾽ C.
[3] διασιλλοῦν L′, διασυλλοῦν C, διασυλοῦν (with second λ added above) V.

(How the Mauretanias began to be governed by Romans.) A.D. 40

And when he reached the ocean, as if he were going to conduct a campaign in Britain, and had drawn up all the soldiers on the beach, he embarked on a trireme, and then, after putting out a little from the land, sailed back again. Next he took his seat on a lofty platform and gave the soldiers the signal as if for battle, bidding the trumpeters urge them on; then of a sudden he ordered them to gather up the shells. Having secured these spoils (for he needed booty, of course, for his triumphal procession), he became greatly elated, as if he had enslaved the very ocean; and he gave his soldiers many presents. The shells he took back to Rome for the purpose of exhibiting the booty to the people there as well. The senate knew not how it could remain indifferent to these doings, since it learned that he was in an exalted frame of mind, nor yet again how it could praise him. For, if anybody bestows great praise or extraordinary honours for some trivial exploit or none at all, he is suspected of making a hissing and a mockery of the affair. Nevertheless, when Gaius entered the city, he came very near destroying the whole senate because it had not voted him divine honours. He assembled the populace, however, and showered quantities of silver and gold upon them from a lofty station, and many perished in their efforts to

[1] ἐψηφίσατο VL′, ἐψηφίσθη C (corr. to ἐψηφίσατο).
[5] πολλοὶ VC, πολλοὶ δὲ L′.

αὐτοῖς, ὥς φασί τινες, ἀνεμέμικτο.—Xiph. 166, 30–167, 22.

5a *Ἐκ δὲ τῶν μοιχειῶν ὡς καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν Κελτικὴν καὶ Βρεττανικὴν κεχειρωμένος, αὐτοκράτωρ τε πολλάκις καὶ Γερμανικὸς καὶ Βρεττανικὸς ἐπεκλήθη.*—Joann. Antioch. fr. 82 M. (v. 30–33).

5b *Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον βιοὺς πάντως ἐπιβουλευθήσεσθαι ἔμελλε. καὶ ἐφώρασε τὴν ἐπίθεσιν, καὶ συλλαβὼν Ἀνίκιον*[1] *Κερεάλιον καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Σέξτον Παπίνιον ἐβασάνισε· καὶ ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἐξελάλησεν, ἀνέπεισε τὸν Παπίνιον, σωτηρίαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἄδειαν ὑποσχόμενος, κατειπεῖν τινῶν ἢ ἀληθῶς*[2] *ἢ ψευδῶς, καὶ ἐκεῖνον αὐτίκα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀπέκτεινεν.*—Zon. 11, 6 (p. 19, 12–19 D.).

6 *Βετιλῖνον δὲ Βάσσον*[3] *ἀποσφαγῆναι κελεύσας, καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Καπίτωνα παρεῖναι φονευομένῳ αὐτῷ κατηνάγκασε μήτ' ἀδικοῦντά τι μήτ' ἐσηγγελμένον. πυθομένου τε αὐτοῦ εἰ μῦσαί γέ οἱ ἐπιτρέπει, προσέταξε καὶ ἐκεῖνον*
7 *σφαγῆναι.* [Xiph. 167, 22–27.][4] *ὁ δὲ κινδυνεύων προσεποιήσατο ἐκ τῶν ἐπιβεβουλευκότων εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας ἐκφῆναι ὑπέσχετο, καὶ ὠνόμασε τούς τε ἑταίρους τοὺς τοῦ Γαΐου καὶ τοὺς συνεργοὺς τῆς ἀσελγείας καὶ τῆς ὠμότητος.*

[1] Ἀνίκιον Pinder, νίκιον ABCEc.

[2] ἀληθῶς ABCc, ὡς ἀληθῶς E.

[3] βετιλῖνον δὲ κάσσον CV, μετιλλῖνον δὲ κάσσιον L', βάσσος exc. Vat.

[4] Zonaras has in place of these two sentences: ἑνὸς δὲ τῶν κτεινομένων καὶ τὸν πατέρα παρεῖναι κατηνάγκασε τοῦ υἱοῦ φονευομένου· πυθόμενόν τε εἰ μύσαι αὐτῷ ἐπιτρέπει, καὶ ἐκεῖνον σφαγῆναι προσέταξεν.

grab it; for, as some say, he had mixed small pieces of iron in with the coins. A.D. 40

Because of his adulteries he was frequently styled *imperator* as well as Germanicus and Britannicus, as if he had subdued the whole of Germany and Britain.[1]

Living in this manner, he was bound to become the object of a plot. He discovered the conspiracy and arrested Anicius Cerealis and his son, Sextus Papinius, whom he put to the torture. And inasmuch as the former would not utter a word, he persuaded Papinius, by promising him his life and impunity, to denounce certain others, whether truly or falsely; he then straightway put to death both Cerealis and the others before his very eyes.

When[2] he had ordered Betilinus[3] Bassus to be slain, he compelled Capito, the man's father, to be present at his son's execution, though Capito was not guilty of any crime and had received no court summons. When the father inquired if he would permit him to close his eyes, Gaius ordered him to be slain, too. Then Capito, finding his life in danger, pretended to have been one of the conspirators and promised to disclose the names of all the rest; and he named the companions of Gaius and those who abetted his licentiousness and cruelty. Indeed, he

[1] Compare for the jest Sueton., *Iul.* 49, 4. It turns on the double meaning of Κελτική and Βρεταννική.

[2] The first two sentences of this paragraph are taken from the fuller account of Xiphilinus. Zonaras' version reads: He ordered the father of one of the men who was to be slain to be present at his son's execution. When the father inquired if he would permit him to close his eyes, Gaius ordered him to be slain, too.

[3] Probably an error for Betilienus.

καὶ πολλοὺς ἂν ἀπώλεσεν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς ὑπάρχους καὶ τὸν Κάλλιστον καὶ τὴν Καισωνίαν προσδιαβαλὼν ἠπιστήθη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπέθανεν, τῷ δὲ Γαΐῳ τὸν ὄλεθρον αὐτὸ τοῦτο παρεσκεύασεν.

8 *ἰδίᾳ*[1] *γὰρ τοὺς ὑπάρχους τε καὶ τὸν Κάλλιστον προσκαλεσάμενος "εἷς εἰμί" ἔφη, "τρεῖς δὲ ὑμεῖς, καὶ γυμνὸς μὲν ἐγώ, ὡπλισμένοι δ' ὑμεῖς· εἰ οὖν μισεῖτέ με καὶ ἀποκτείνειν θέλετε, φονεύσατε." ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ μισεῖσθαι νομίσας καὶ ἄχθεσθαι τοῖς πραττομένοις ἐκείνους, ὑπώπτευέ σφας, καὶ ξίφος κἂν τῇ πόλει παρεζώννυτο, καὶ συνέβαλλεν αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις, ὅπως μὴ συμφρονῶσι,*[2] *κατὰ μόνας ἑκάστῳ ὡς πιστοτάτῳ διαλεγόμενος περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, μέχρις οὗ συνέντες τὸ ἐπιχείρημα προήκαντο αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσιν.*—Zon. 11, 6 (p. 19, 22–20, 11 D.).

9 *Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς ἐκέλευσε τὴν σύγκλητον συναχθῆναι, καὶ δῆθεν ἀμνηστίαν αὐτοῖς δέδωκεν, εἰπὼν ὀλίγους πάνυ ἔχειν οἷς ἔτι ὠργίζετο. καὶ πᾶσι τούτοις*[3] *διπλῆν ἐδίδου τὴν φροντίδα· ἕκαστος γὰρ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἐνενόει.*—Petr. Patr. *exc. Vat.* 31 (p. 205 Mai = p. 188, 3–7 D.).

[1] Cf., for the rest of the paragraph, Patricius: *ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς Γάιος τούς τε ὑπάρχους καλέσας καὶ ἄλλους δύο εἰσῆλθεν ἐν χιτωνίσκῳ* (*κοιτωνίσκῳ* cod.), *καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς "ἰδοὺ ὑμεῖς τρεῖς ἐστε ὡπλισμένοι, ἐγὼ δὲ μόνος καὶ γυμνός· ἐὰν μισῆτέ με, φονεύσατέ με." ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνοι εἰς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ προσέπεσον καὶ παρεκάλουν μηδὲν τοιοῦτον περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐννοεῖν, ἀνεχώρησεν δῆθεν πεπεισμένος· πλὴν καὶ αὐτὸς ὕποπτος περὶ τὴν φιλίαν αὐτῶν διέκειτο, κἀκεῖνοι ἐδεδίεισαν. ἐκεῖνος δὲ συνέκρουεν αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις* (*exc. Vat.* 30, p. 205 Mai = p. 187, 26—188, 2 D.).

[2] *συμφρονῶσι* AE, *συμφωνῶσι* BC[c],

[3] *τούτοις* Mai, *τούτους* M.

would have brought many to destruction, had he not gone on to accuse the prefects and Callistus and Caesonia, and so aroused distrust. He was accordingly put to death, but this very deed paved the way for Gaius' own destruction. For[1] the emperor privately summoned the prefects and Callistus and said to them: "I am but one, and you are three; and I am defenceless, whereas you are armed. If, therefore, you hate me and desire to kill me, slay me." As a result of this affair, he believed that he was hated and that they were vexed at his behaviour, and so he suspected them and wore a sword at his side when in the city; and to forestall any harmony of action on their part he attempted to embroil them with one another, by pretending to make a confidant of each one separately and talking to him about the others, until they understood his purpose and abandoned him to the conspirators. A.D. 40

He also ordered the senate to meet and pretended to grant its members amnesty, saying that there were only a very few against whom he still retained his anger. This statement doubled the anxiety of every one of them, for each was thinking of himself.

[1] Patricius' account from this point is as follows: The same Gaius, after summoning the prefects and two others, entered, wearing a tunic, and said to them: "See! You are three men armed, whereas I am alone and defenceless. If you hate me, slay me." When they fell at his feet and besought him, claiming that they had no such intention regarding him, he withdrew, pretending to be convinced; yet not only was he suspicious of their friendship, but they, also, on their side, were filled with fear. And he tried to set them at variance with one another.

26 Ἦν[1] δέ τις Πρωτογένης πρὸς πάντα αὐτῷ τὰ
χαλεπώτατα ὑπηρετῶν, ὥστε καὶ βιβλία ἀεὶ
δύο περιφέρειν καὶ αὐτῶν τὸ μὲν ξίφος τὸ δὲ
2 ἐγχειρίδον ὀνομάζειν. οὗτος ἐσῆλθέ ποτε ἐς τὸ
συνέδριον ὡς καὶ κατ' ἄλλο τι, καὶ πάντων, οἷα
εἰκός, προσειπόντων τε αὐτὸν καὶ δεξιουμένων
δριμύ τέ τι Σκριβωνίῳ[2] Πρόκλῳ ἐνεῖδε καὶ ἔφη
"καὶ σύ με ἀσπάζῃ, μισῶν οὕτω τὸν αὐτοκράτορα;"
ἀκούσαντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ παρόντες περιέσχον
τε τὸν συμβουλευτὴν καὶ διέσπασαν.
—Xiph. 167, 27–168, 4.

3 Ἡσθέντος τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοῦ Γαΐου καὶ φήσαντος
αὐτοῖς κατηλλάχθαι πανηγύρεις τέ τινας ἐψηφίσαντο
καὶ ὅπως καὶ βήματι ὑψηλῷ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ
τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, ὥστε μηδένα ἐξικνεῖσθαι, καὶ
φρουρᾷ στρατιωτικῇ καὶ[3] ἐκεῖ χρῷτο· καὶ τοὺς
4 ἀνδριάντας αὐτοῦ φρουρεῖσθαι ἔγνωσαν. ἐπ' οὖν
τούτοις ὁ Γάιος τὴν ὀργήν σφισιν ἀφῆκε καὶ
χρηστά[4] τινα προσενεανιεύσατο· Πομπώνιον
γὰρ ἐπιβουλεῦσαι λεχθέντα[5] οἱ ἀπέλυσεν, ἐπειδὴ
ὑπὸ φίλου προεδόθη,[6] καὶ τὴν ἑταίραν αὐτοῦ, ὅτι
βασανισθεῖσα οὐδὲν ἐξεῖπεν, οὔτε τι κακὸν ἔδρασε
5 καὶ προσέτι καὶ χρήμασιν ἐτίμησεν. ἐπαινούμενος
οὖν διὰ ταῦτα τὰ μὲν φόβῳ τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπ'
ἀληθείας, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἥρωα τῶν δὲ θεὸν αὐτὸν
ἀνακαλούντων, δεινῶς[7] ἐξεφρόνησεν. ἠξίου μὲν

[1] Cf. Zonaras: τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν, ὅτι μὴ κατεψηφίσαντό τινων, περιφόβων ὄντων, Πρωτογένης τις κ.τ.λ.

[2] σκριβωνίῳ L', σκιρβωνίῳ VC. [3] καὶ om. cod. Peir.

[4] χρηστά Bk., χρήματα cod. Peir. (Xiph. omits § 4).

[5] ἐπιβουλεῦσαι λεχθέντα Bk., ἐπιβουλευθέντα λεχθεῖναι cod. Peir. [6] προεδόθη Val., προσεδόθη cod. Peir.

[7] δεινῶς om. cod. Peir.

Now[1] there was a certain Protogenes, who assisted the emperor in all his harshest measures, and was always carrying around two books, one of which he called his sword and the other his dagger. This Protogenes entered the senate one day as if on some other business, and when all the members, as was natural, saluted him, and were extending their greetings, he darted a sinister glance at Scribonius Proculus and said: "Do you, too, greet me, when you hate the emperor so?" On hearing this, all who were present surrounded their fellow-senator and tore him to pieces. A.D. 40

When Gaius showed pleasure at this and declared that he had become reconciled with them, they voted various festivals and also decreed that the emperor should sit on a high platform even in the very senate-house, to prevent any one from approaching him, and should have a military guard even there; they likewise voted that his statues should be guarded. Because of these decrees Gaius put aside his anger against them, and with youthful impetuosity did a few excellent things. For instance, he released Pomponius, who was said to have plotted against him, inasmuch as he had been betrayed by a friend; and when the man's mistress, upon being tortured, would not utter a word, he not only did her no harm but even honoured her with a gift of money. Gaius was praised for this, partly out of fear and partly with sincerity, and when some called him a demigod and others a god, he fairly lost his head. Indeed, even before this he had been

[1] Zonaras begins: While the senators were in great fear because they had failed to condemn certain people, a certain Protogenes, etc.

γὰρ καὶ πρότερον ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον νομίζεσθαι, καὶ τῇ Σελήνῃ συγγίγνεσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Νίκης στεφανοῦσθαι ἔλεγε,[1] Ζεύς τε εἶναι ἐπλάττετο, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ γυναιξὶν ἄλλαις τε πολλαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς μάλιστα συνεῖναι προεφασί-
6 σατο, καὶ Ποσειδῶν αὖθις, ὅτι τοσοῦτον θαλάσσης μέτρον ἔζευξε, τόν τε Ἡρακλέα τόν τε Διόνυσον τόν τε Ἀπόλλω τούς τε ἄλλους, οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς ἄρρενας ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς θηλείας, ὑπεκρίνετο, Ἥρα τε καὶ Ἄρτεμις καὶ Ἀφροδίτη πολλάκις ἐγίγνετο. πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων μετάθεσιν καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σχῆμα πᾶν τὸ προσῆκόν σφισιν ἐλάμβανεν,
7 ὥστε ἐοικέναι αὐτοῖς[2] δοκεῖν. τοτὲ[3] μὲν γὰρ θηλυδριώδης ἑωρᾶτο καὶ κρατῆρα καὶ θύρσον εἶχε, τοτὲ[3] δὲ ἀρρενωπός, καὶ ῥόπαλον καὶ λεοντῆν ἢ καὶ κράνος ἀσπίδα τε ἐφόρει. λειογένειος αὖ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πωγωνίας ἐφαντάζετο, τρίαινάν τε ἔστιν ὅτε ἐκράτει, καὶ κεραυνὸν αὖθις ἀνέτεινε. παρθένῳ τε κυνηγετικῇ ἢ καὶ πολεμικῇ ὡμοιοῦτο,
8 καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐγυναίκιζεν. οὕτω που καὶ τῷ ῥυθμῷ τῆς στολῆς καὶ τοῖς προσθέτοις τοῖς τε περιθέτοις ἀκριβῶς ἐποικίλλετο, καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ ἄνθρωπος αὐτοκράτωρ τε δοκεῖν εἶναι ἤθελε.[4] καί ποτέ τις ἀνὴρ Γαλάτης ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ βήματος ὑψηλοῦ ἐν Διὸς εἴδει χρηματίζοντα
9 ἐγέλασεν· ὁ δὲ Γάιος ἐκάλεσέ τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνήρετο "τί σοι δοκῶ εἶναι;" καὶ ὃς ἀπεκρίνατο (ἐρῶ γὰρ

[1] ἔλεγε om. Xiph.
[2] αὐτοῖς Bs., ἂν exc. Vat. (Xiph. omits ὥστε . . . δοκεῖν).
[3] τοτὲ Bk., τότε cod. Peir., ποτὲ Xiph. Zon.
[4] πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ ἄνθρωπος αὐτοκράτωρ τε δοκεῖν εἶναι ἤθελε cod. Peir., καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον δοκεῖν ἢ ἄνθρωπος εἶναι ἤθελε

demanding that he be regarded as more than a human being, and was wont to claim that he had intercourse with the Moon, that Victory put a crown upon him, and to pretend that he was Jupiter, and he made this a pretext for seducing numerous women, particularly his sisters; again, he would pose as Neptune, because he had bridged so great an expanse of sea; he also impersonated Hercules, Bacchus, Apollo, and all the other divinities, not merely males but also females, often taking the rôle of Juno, Diana, or Venus. Indeed, to match the change of name he would assume all the rest of the attributes that belonged to the various gods, so that he might seem really to resemble them. Now he would be seen as a woman, holding a wine-bowl and thyrsus, and again he would appear as a man equipped with a club and lion's skin or perhaps a helmet and shield. He would be seen at one time with a smooth chin and later with a full beard. Sometimes he wielded a trident and again he brandished a thunderbolt. Now he would impersonate a maiden equipped for hunting or for war, and a little later would play the married woman. Thus by varying the style of his dress, and by the use of accessories and wigs, he achieved accuracy in many diverse parts; and he was eager to appear to be anything rather than a human being and an emperor. Once a Gaul, seeing him uttering oracles from a lofty platform in the guise of Jupiter, was moved to laughter, whereupon Gaius summoned him and inquired, "What do I seem to you to be?" And the other answered (I give his exact words): A.D. 40

Xiph., *καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ ἄνθρωπος δοκεῖν αὐτοκράτωρ ἐβούλετο* Zon.

αὐτὸ τὸ λεχθέν) ὅτι "*μέγα παραλήρημα.*" *καὶ οὐδὲν μέντοι δεινὸν ἔπαθε· σκυτοτόμος γὰρ ἦν. οὕτω που ῥᾷον τὰς τῶν τυχόντων ἢ τὰς τῶν ἐν ἀξιώσει τινὶ ὄντων παρρησίας οἱ τοιοῦτοι φέρουσι.*
10 *ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ σχήματα, ὁπότε τις θεὸς ἐπλάττετο εἶναι, ἐλάμβανε, καὶ αὐτῷ*[1] *καὶ ἱκετεῖαι καὶ εὐχαὶ θυσίαι τε κατὰ τὸ πρόσφορον προσήγοντο· ἄλλως δὲ δὴ*[2] *ἔν τε τῇ σηρικῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ νικητηρίᾳ*
27 *σκευῇ ὡς πλήθει ἐδημοσίευεν.*[3] *ἐφίλει τε ὀλιγίστους·*[4] *τοῖς γὰρ πλείστοις καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἢ τὴν χεῖρα ἢ τὸν πόδα προσκυνεῖν ὤρεγε, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' οἱ φιληθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χάριν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἐγίγνωσκον, καίτοι τοὺς ὀρχηστὰς καθ'*
2 *ἡμέραν φιλοῦντι πάντων ὁρώντων. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι, ὅσα ὡς θεῷ αὐτῷ ἐγίγνετο, οὐχ ὅτι οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀεί τινα κολακεύειν εἰωθότες ἐποίουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πάνυ δοκοῦντές τι εἶναι.*—Xiph. 168, 4–169. 11, Exc. Val. 211 (p. 669 sq.).

Ὁ δ' οὖν[5] *Οὐιτέλλιος*[6] *ὁ Λούκιος οὔτ' ἀγεννὴς*[7] *οὔτ' ἄφρων ὤν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ἀρχῆς ὀνομαστὸς γενόμενος (τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα*
3 *λαμπρῶς ἡγεμόνευσε,*[8] *καὶ τὸν Ἀρτάβανον καὶ ἐκείνῃ ἐπιβουλεύοντα, ἐπειδὴ μηδεμίαν τιμωρίαν ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ ἐδεδώκει, κατέπληξέ τε ἀπαντήσας αὐτῷ ἐξαπιναίως περὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἤδη ὄντι, καὶ ἔς τε λόγους αὐτὸν ὑπηγάγετο καὶ*

[1] αὐτῷ cod. Peir., αὐτῶν Xiph.
[2] δὴ om. cod. Peir.
[3] ἐδημοσίευεν R. Steph., ἐδημοσίευσεν Xiph. cod. Peir.
[4] ὀλιγίστους cod. Peir. Xiph. VL′, ὀλίγους Xiph. C.
[5] δ' οὖν VC, γοῦν L′.
[6] Οὐιτέλλιος Bk., βιτέλιος Xiph., βιτέλλιος cod. Peir.

"A big humbug." Yet the man met with no harm, for he was only a shoemaker. Thus it is, apparently, that persons of such rank as Gaius can bear the frankness of the common herd more easily than that of those who hold high position. The attire, now, that I have described was what he would assume whenever he pretended to be a god; and suitable supplications, prayers, and sacrifices would then be offered to him. At other times he usually appeared in public in silk or in triumphal dress. He used to kiss very few; for to most of the senators, even, he merely extended his hand or foot for homage. Consequently the men who were kissed by him thanked him for it even in the senate, and this in spite of the fact that he kissed actors every day in plain sight of everybody. And yet these honours paid to him as a god came not only from the multitude, accustomed at all times to flattering somebody, but from those also who stood in high repute. A.D. 40

The case of Lucius Vitellius is in point. This man was neither of low birth nor lacking in intelligence, but, on the contrary, had made a name for himself by his governorship of Syria. For, in addition to his other brilliant achievements during his term of office, he forestalled Artabanus, who was planning an attack on that province also, since he had suffered no punishment for his invasion of Armenia. He terrified the Parthian by coming upon him suddenly when he was already close to the Euphrates, and then induced him to come to a conference, compelled

[7] ἀγεννὴς Bs., ἀγενὴς Xiph. cod. Peir.
[8] ἡγεμόνευσε CL′, ἡγεμόνευε V.

θῦσαι ταῖς τοῦ Αὐγούστου τοῦ τε Γαΐου εἰκόσιν ἠνάγκασε, σπονδάς τε αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων σύμφορον δοὺς καὶ προσέτι καὶ παῖδας αὐτοῦ
4 *ὁμήρους λαβών)—οὗτος οὖν ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος μετεπέμφθη μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαΐου ὡς καὶ ἀπολούμενος (ἐφ' οἷς γὰρ οἱ Πάρθοι τὸν βασιλέα σφῶν ἐξήλασαν, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκεῖνος αἰτίαν ἔσχε, μισηθείς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου καὶ ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου· τῷ τε γὰρ κρείττονι τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ὁ Γάιος ἤχθετο, καὶ τὸ εὖ φερόμενον ὡς καὶ ἐπιθησό-*
5 *μενόν οἱ ὑπώπτευεν), ἐσώθη δὲ σχηματίσας πως ἑαυτὸν ὥστε καὶ ἐλάττων αὐτῷ τῆς δόξης φανῆναι, καὶ πρός τε τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ προσπεσὼν καὶ δάκρυσι κλαύσας, κἂν*[1] *τούτῳ καὶ θειάσας αὐτὸν πολλὰ καὶ προσκυνήσας, καὶ τέλος*[2] *εὐξά-*
6 *μενος, ἂν περισωθῇ, θύσειν αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ. ἐκ γὰρ τούτων οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐτιθάσευσε καὶ ἱλεώσατο ὥστε μὴ μόνον περιγενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πάνυ φίλοις αὐτοῦ νομισθῆναι. καί ποτε τοῦ Γαΐου συγγίγνεσθαί τε τῇ Σελήνῃ λέγοντος, καὶ ἐρωτήσαντος αὐτὸν εἰ ὁρῴη τὴν θεὸν συνοῦσαν αὐτῷ, κάτω τε ὡς καὶ*[3] *τεθηπὼς ἔβλεπεν ὑποτρέμων, καὶ σμικρόν τι φθεγξάμενος "ὑμῖν" ἔφη "τοῖς θεοῖς, δέσποτα, μόνοις ἀλλήλους ὁρᾶν ἔξεστιν." Οὐιτέλλιος μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖθεν ἀρξάμενος πάντας καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τοὺς ἄλλους*[4] *κολακείᾳ ὑπερεβάλετο.*—Xiph. 169, 11–170, 6, Exc. Val. 212 (p. 670).

28 *Γάιος δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῷ ἔθνει τέμενός τι ἑαυτῷ ἐν Μιλήτῳ τεμενίσαι ἐκέλευσε· ταύτην γὰρ τὴν*

[1] *κἂν* Xiph., *καὶ* cod. Peir.
[2] *τέλος* om. cod. Peir.

him to sacrifice to the images of Augustus and Gaius, and made a peace with him that was advantageous to the Romans, even securing his sons as hostages. This Vitellius, now, was summoned by Gaius to be put to death. The complaint against him was the same as the Parthians had against their king when they expelled him; for jealousy made him the object of hatred, and fear the object of plots. Gaius, of course, hated all who were stronger than himself, and he was suspicious of all who were successful, feeling sure that they would attack him. Yet Vitellius managed to save his life. He arrayed himself in a manner beneath his rank, then fell at the emperor's feet with tears and lamentations, all the while calling him many divine names and paying him worship; and at last he vowed that if he were allowed to live he would offer sacrifice to him. By this behaviour he so mollified and soothed Gaius, that he not only managed to survive but even came to be regarded as one of Gaius' most intimate friends. On one occasion, when Gaius claimed to be enjoying converse with the Moon, and asked Vitellius if he could see the goddess with him, the other, trembling as in awe, kept his eyes fixed on the ground and answered in a half whisper: "Only you gods, master, may behold one another." So Vitellius, from this beginning, came later to surpass all others in adulation. A.D. 40

Gaius ordered that a sacred precinct should be set apart for his worship at Miletus in the province of Asia. The reason he gave for choosing this city

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[3] ὡς καὶ Xiph., οἷα δὴ Zon.

[4] πάντας . . . τοὺς ἄλλους VC, τοὺς ἄλλους . . . πάντας L'.

πόλιν ἐπελέξατο, λόγῳ μὲν εἰπὼν ὅτι τὴν μὲν
Ἔφεσον ἡ Ἄρτεμις τὴν δὲ Πέργαμον ὁ Αὔγου-
στος τὴν δὲ Σμύρναν ὁ Τιβέριος προκατειλήφασι,
τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς ὅτι τὸν νεὼν ὃν οἱ Μιλήσιοι τῷ
Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ μέγαν καὶ ὑπερκαλλῆ ἐποίουν
2 ἰδιώσασθαι ἐπεθύμησε. τότε δὲ ἐπὶ πλέον
ἐξήχθη, ὥστε καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ναὸν ἑαυτοῦ
τὸν μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισθέντα τὸν δὲ ἰδίᾳ
ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ, ποιήσασθαι. ἐτεκτήνατο μὲν
γὰρ καὶ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ κατάλυσίν τινα, ἵν',
3 ὡς ἔλεγε, τῷ Διὶ συνοικοίη· ἀπαξιώσας δὲ δὴ τὰ
δευτερεῖα ἐν τῇ συνοικήσει αὐτοῦ φέρεσθαι, καὶ
προσεγκαλέσας[1] οἱ[2] ὅτι τὸ Καπιτώλιον προκα-
τέλαβεν,[3] οὕτω δὴ ἕτερόν τε[4] νεὼν ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ
σπουδῇ ᾠκοδομήσατο,[5] καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐς αὐτὸν ἠθέ-
λησε τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου[6] ἐς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ
4 εἶδος μεταρρυθμίσαι.[7] μὴ δυνηθεὶς δέ (τό τε γὰρ
πλοῖον τὸ πρὸς τὴν κομιδὴν αὐτοῦ ναυπηγηθὲν
ἐκεραυνώθη,[8] καὶ γέλως, ὁσάκις τινὲς ὡς καὶ τοῦ
ἕδους ἐφαψόμενοι προσῆλθον, πολὺς ἐξηκούετο)
ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐπηπείλει, αὐτὸς δὲ ἕτερον ἐνέστησε.
5 τό τε Διοσκόρειον[9] τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ
ὃν διατεμὼν διὰ μέσου τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἔσοδον δι'
αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ παλάτιον ἐποιήσατο, ὅπως καὶ
πυλωροὺς τοὺς Διοσκόρους, ὥς γε καὶ ἔλεγεν,

[1] προσεγκαλέσας Xiph. L' cod. Peir., προσεγκαλέσαι Xiph. VC.
[2] οἱ cod. Peir., αὐτῷ Xiph.
[3] προκατέλαβεν cod. Peir., κατέλαβεν Xiph.
[4] τε Rk., γε Xiph. cod. Peir.
[5] ᾠκοδομήσατο Xiph., ᾠκοδόμησεν cod. Peir.
[6] τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου om. cod. Peir.

was that Diana had pre-empted Ephesus, Augustus Pergamum, and Tiberius Smyrna; but the truth of the matter was that he desired to appropriate to his own use the large and exceedingly beautiful temple which the Milesians were building to Apollo. Thereupon he went to still greater lengths, and actually built in Rome itself two temples of his own, one that had been granted him by vote of the senate and another at his own expense on the Palatine. It seems that he had constructed a sort of lodge on the Capitoline, in order, as he said, that he might dwell with Jupiter; but disdaining to take second place in this union of households, and blaming the god for occupying the Capitoline ahead of him, he hastened to erect another temple on the Palatine, and wished to transfer to it the statue of the Olympian Zeus after remodelling it to resemble himself. But he found this to be impossible, for the ship built to bring it was shattered by thunderbolts, and loud laughter was heard every time that anybody approached as if to take hold of the pedestal; accordingly, after uttering threats against the statue, he set up a new one of himself.[1] He cut in two the temple of Castor and Pollux in the Roman Forum and made through it an approach to the palace running directly between the two statues, in order, as he was wont to say, that he might have the Dioscuri for gate-keepers. Styling A.D. 40.

[1] Compare the accounts in Suet., *Cal.* 22, 57 and Josephus, *Ant.* xix. 1.

[7] *μεταρρυθμίσαι* is corrupt; *μεταρρυθμίσας ἱδρύσασθαι* was proposed by Oddey, *μεταρρυθμίσας μεθιδρύσασθαι* by Bs.

[8] *ἐκεραυνώθη* cod. Peir., *κεραυνοῖς ἐφθάρη* Xiph.

[9] *Διοσκόρειον* Bk., *διοσκούριον* Xiph., *διοσ κόριον* cod. Peir.

ἔχῃ. Δία τε Λατιάριον[1] ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάσας, τήν
τε Καισωνίαν[2] τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν Κλαύδιον
ἄλλους τε τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους ἱερέας προσέθετο,
πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας ἐπὶ τούτῳ παρ' ἑκά-
6 στου μυριάδας λαβών. καὶ προσέτι καὶ αὐτὸς
ἑαυτῷ[3] ἱερᾶτο,[4] τόν τε ἵππον συνιερέα ἀπέφηνε·[5]
καὶ ὄρνιθες αὐτῷ ἁπαλοί τέ τινες καὶ πολυτί-
μητοι καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐθύοντο. ταῖς τε
βρονταῖς ἐκ μηχανῆς τινος ἀντεβρόντα καὶ ταῖς
ἀστραπαῖς ἀντήστραπτε· καὶ ὁπότε κεραυνὸς
καταπέσοι, λίθον ἀντηκόντιζεν, ἐπιλέγων ἐφ'
ἑκάστῳ[6] τὸ τοῦ Ὁμήρου "ἤ μ' ἀνάειρ' ἢ ἐγὼ
7 σέ." ἐπειδή τε ἡ Καισωνία θυγάτριον[7] μετὰ τριά-
κοντα ἡμέρας τῶν γάμων ἔτεκε, τοῦτό τε αὐτὸ
δαιμονίως προσεποιεῖτο, σεμνυνόμενος ὅτι ἐν
τοσαύταις ἡμέραις καὶ ἀνὴρ καὶ πατὴρ[8] ἐγεγόνει,
καὶ Δρουσίλλαν αὐτὴν ὀνομάσας ἔς τε τὸ Καπι-
τώλιον ἀνήγαγε καὶ ἐς τὰ τοῦ Διὸς γόνατα ὡς
καὶ παῖδα αὐτοῦ οὖσαν ἀνέθηκε, καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ
τιθηνεῖσθαι παρηγγύησεν.

8 Οὗτος οὖν ὁ θεὸς καὶ οὗτος ὁ Ζεὺς (καὶ γὰρ
ἐκαλεῖτο τὰ τελευταῖα οὕτως, ὥστε καὶ ἐς γράμ-
ματα φέρεσθαι) ταῦτά[9] τε ἅμα ἔπραττε καὶ
χρήματα αἴσχιστα καὶ δεινότατα συνελέγετο.
ἵνα γάρ τις τά τε ὤνια[10] καὶ τὰ καπηλεῖα τάς τε

[1] Δία τε Λατιάριον Bs., following Casaubon (Δ. τε Λατιάλιον); διάλιόν τε M.

[2] Καισωνίαν R. Steph., κασωνίαν Xiph. (cod. Peir. omits τήν τε . . . ἄλλους τε).

[3] ἑαυτῷ Xiph., ἐναυτω cod. Peir.

[4] ἱερᾶτο cod. Peir. Zon. Xiph. L', ἱεροῦτο Xiph. V, ἱερῶτο (corr. from ἱερᾶτο) Xiph. C.

himself Jupiter Latiaris, he attached to his service as priests his wife Caesonia, Claudius, and other persons who were wealthy, receiving ten million sesterces from each of them in return for this honour. He also consecrated himself to his own service and appointed his horse a fellow-priest; and dainty and expensive birds were sacrificed to him daily. He had a contrivance by which he gave answering peals when it thundered and sent return flashes when it lightened. Likewise, whenever a bolt fell, he would in turn hurl a javelin at a rock, repeating each time the words of Homer, "Either lift me or I will thee."[1] When Caesonia bore a daughter only a month after her marriage, he pretended that this had come about through supernatural means, and gave himself airs over the fact that in so few days after becoming a husband he was now a father. He named the girl Drusilla, and taking her up to the Capitol placed her on the knees of Jupiter, thereby hinting that she was his child, and put her in charge of Minerva to be suckled. A.D. 40

This god, now, this Jupiter (for he was called by these names so much at the last that they even found their way into documents) at the same time that he was doing all this was also collecting money in most shameful and dreadful ways. One might, indeed, pass over in silence the wares and the

[1] *Il.* 23, 724. Ajax is addressing Odysseus in the course of their wrestling match.

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[5] *ἀπέφηνε* cod. Peir. Xiph. VC, *ἀπέφαινε* Xiph. L'.
[6] *ἑκάστῳ* cod. Peir. Xiph. CL' Zon., *ἑκάστου* Xiph. C.
[7] *θυγάτριον* Val., *θυγάτρια* cod. Peir.
[8] *καὶ ἀνὴρ καὶ πατὴρ* exc. Vat., *καὶ πατὴρ καὶ ἀνὴρ* cod. Peir.
[9] *ταῦτά* Val., *ταῦ* cod. Peir.
[10] *ὤνια* Val., *ωνεια* cod. Peir.

πόρνας[1] καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια τούς τε χειροτέχνας
καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ μισθοφοροῦντα τά τε ἄλλα
τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐξ ὧν οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ἠργυρίζετο,
9 παραλείπῃ,[2] ἀλλὰ τά γε οἰκήματα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ
τῷ παλατίῳ ἀποδειχθέντα, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τὰς
τῶν πρώτων τούς τε παῖδας τοὺς τῶν σεμνοτάτων,
οὓς ἐς αὐτὰ καθίζων ὕβριζεν, ἐκκαρπούμενος ἐπ'
αὐτοῖς πάντας ἁπλῶς, τοὺς μὲν ἐθελοντὰς τοὺς
δὲ καὶ ἄκοντας, ὅπως μὴ καὶ δυσχεραίνειν τι
10 νομισθῶσι, πῶς ἄν τις σιωπήσειεν; οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
τούτοις μὲν οὐ σφόδρα τὸ πλῆθος ἤχθετο, ἀλλὰ
καὶ ἔχαιρον ὁμοῦ οἱ τῇ τε ἀσελγείᾳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ
ὅτι ἔς τε τὸ χρυσίον καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀργύριον τὸ
συλλεγόμενον ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐμβάλλων ἑκάστοτε
11 ἑαυτὸν ἐκαλινδεῖτο· ὡς μέντοι καὶ περὶ τῶν τελῶν
πικρῶς τινα διανομοθετήσας ἐς λεύκωμα αὐτὰ
βραχυτάτοις γράμμασιν ἐσέγραψε καὶ ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ τινος ἀπεκρέμασεν, ὅπως ὡς ἥκιστα ἀναγιγνώσκοιτο, κἀκ τούτου πολλοὶ τοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις, ἀγνοοῦντες τὸ κεκωλυμένον ἢ κεκελευσμένον, περιπίπτωσιν, ἔς τε τὸν ἱππόδρομον εὐθὺς σπουδῇ συνέδραμον καὶ δεινὰ συνεβόησαν.—Xiph. 170, 6–171, 13, Exc. Val. 213, 214 (p. 670–674).

Ὅτι ποτὲ τὸν δῆμον συνελθόντα ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρομίῳ καὶ τοῦτον ἐλέγχοντα ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν διέφθειρεν· ἐξ οὗπερ πάντες ἐσιώπησαν.—Joann. Antioch. fr. 81 M. (v. 1–3).

29 Ὡς οὖν πάντα τρόπον ἐξεμαίνετο, ἐπεβούλευσαν αὐτῷ Κάσσιός τε Χαιρέας καὶ Κορνήλιος Σαβῖνος, καίτοι χιλιαρχίας ἐν τῷ δορυφορικῷ ἔχοντες. συνώμοσαν μὲν γὰρ πλείονες καὶ συνή-

taverns, the prostitutes and the courts, the artisans and the wage-earning slaves, and other such sources, from which he collected every conceivable tribute; but how could one keep silent about the rooms set apart in the very palace, and the wives of the foremost men as well as the children of the most aristocratic families that he shut up in those rooms and subjected to outrage, using them as a means of milking everybody alike? Some of those who thus contributed to his need did so willingly, but others very much against their will, lest they should be thought to be vexed. The multitude, however, was not greatly displeased by these proceedings, but actually rejoiced with him in his licentiousness and in the fact that he used to throw himself each time on the gold and silver collected from these sources and roll in it. But when, after enacting severe laws in regard to the taxes, he inscribed them in exceedingly small letters on a tablet which he then hung up in a high place, so that it should be read by as few as possible and that many through ignorance of what was bidden or forbidden should lay themselves liable to the penalties provided, they straightway rushed together excitedly into the Circus and raised a terrible outcry. A.D. 40

Once when the people had come together in the Circus and were objecting to his conduct, he had them slain by the soldiers; after this all kept quiet.

As he continued to play the madman in every way, a plot was formed against him by Cassius Chaerea and Cornelius Sabinus, though they were tribunes in the pretorian guard. There were a good many, of A.D. 41

[1] πόρνας Rk., ὥρας cod. Peir.
[2] παραλείπῃ cod. Peir., παραλίπῃ Xiph.

δεσαν τὸ πραττόμενον, ἐν οἷς ἦν ὅ τε Κάλλιστος καὶ ὁ ἔπαρχος.—Xiph. 171, 13–18, Zon. 11, 7 (p. 22, 17–21 D.), Joann. Antioch. fr. 84 M. (v. 4–6).

1a Πάντες τε ὡς εἰπεῖν οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ὑπέρ τε σφῶν καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἐκινήθησαν. καὶ ὅσοι δὲ οὐ συνώμοσαν, γνόντες οὔτ' ἐξέφηναν καὶ ἄσμενοι εἶδον αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλευόμενον.—Joann. Antioch. fr. 84 M (v. 6–7), Zon. 11, 7 (p. 22, 22–23 D.).

2 Οἱ δὲ αὐτόχειρες αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι ἐκεῖνοι ἦσαν.
ἄλλως τε γὰρ ἀρχαιότροπός τις ἀνὴρ ὁ Χαιρέας
ἦν, καί τινα καὶ ἰδίαν τῆς ὀργῆς αἰτίαν ἔσχε·
γύννιν τε γὰρ αὐτὸν καίπερ ἐρρωμενέστατον
ἀνδρῶν ὄντα ὁ Γάιος ἐπεκάλει, καὶ τὸ σύνθημα
αὐτῷ, ὁπότε ἐς ἐκεῖνον καθήκοι, Πόθον ἢ Ἀφρο-
3 δίτην ἢ ἕτερόν τι[1] τοιοῦτον ἐδίδου. θεοπρόπιον
δέ τι τῷ Γαΐῳ ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν ἐγεγόνει φυλάτ-
τεσθαι Κάσσιον· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς Γάιον Κάσσιον τὸν
τότε τῆς Ἀσίας ἄρχοντα, ἐπειδὴ τὸ γένος ἀπὸ
τοῦ Κασσίου ἐκείνου τοῦ τὸν Καίσαρα ἀποκτεί-
ναντος εἶχεν, ὑποπτεύσας μετεπέμψατο αὐτὸν
δεδεμένον, προέλεγε δ' ἄρα αὐτῷ τὸ δαιμόνιον
4 τοῦτον τὸν Κάσσιον τὸν Χαιρέαν. Ἀπολλώνιός
τέ τις Αἰγύπτιος οἴκοι τε τὸ συμβὰν αὐτῷ προεῖπε,
καὶ πεμφθεὶς διὰ τοῦτ' ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην προσήχθη
τε αὐτῷ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ[2] τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ᾗ τελευ-
τήσειν ἔμελλε, καὶ ἀναβληθεὶς ὡς καὶ μετ'
ὀλίγον κολασθησόμενος ἐσώθη.

Ἐπράχθη δὲ ὧδε. ἑορτήν τινα ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ
5 ἦγε καὶ θέαν ἐπετέλει, κἀν τούτῳ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ
ἤσθιε καὶ ἔπινε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους εἱστία, ὅτε δὴ

[1] τι om. V.
[2] αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ VC, ἐκείνῃ L'.

course, in the conspiracy and privy to what was being done, among them Callistus and the prefect.[1] A.D. 41

Practically all his courtiers were won over, both on their own account and for the common good. And those who did not take part in the conspiracy did not reveal it when they knew of it, and were glad to see a plot formed against him.

But the men who actually killed Gaius were those I have named. Chaerea was an old-fashioned sort of man to begin with, and he had his own special cause for resentment. For Gaius was in the habit of calling him a wench, though he was the hardiest of men, and whenever it was Chaerea's turn to command the guard, would give him some such watchword as "Love" or "Venus." Now an oracle had come to Gaius a short time before warning him to beware of Cassius, and, supposing that it had reference to Gaius Cassius, governor of Asia at the time, because he was a descendant of the Gaius Cassius who had slain Caesar, he caused him to be brought back as a prisoner; but the man whom Heaven was really indicating to Gaius was this Cassius Chaerea. Likewise an Egyptian, Apollonius, foretold in his native land the actual fate of Gaius; for this he was sent to Rome and was brought before the emperor the very day on which the latter was destined to die, but his punishment was postponed until a little later, and in this way his life was saved.

The deed was done on this wise. Gaius was celebrating a festival[2] in the palace and was producing a spectacle. In the course of this he was both eating

[1] The prefect of the pretorian guard.

[2] He was murdered on January 24, the last day of the Ludi Palatini. Cf. Suet., *Gai.* 56, 58, Josephus, *Ant.* xix. 1, 11.

καὶ Πομπώνιος Σεκοῦνδος ὁ τότε ὑπατεύων ἐνεφορεῖτό τε ἅμα τῶν σιτίων, παρὰ τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ καθήμενος, καὶ ἐπικύπτων συνεχῶς αὐτοὺς κατεφίλει.—Xiph. 171, 18–172, 8.

Ὁ γὰρ Χαιρέας καὶ ὁ Σαβῖνος ἐπὶ τοῖς γινομένοις αἰσχροῖς ἀλγοῦντες, ὅμως ἐκαρτέρουν ἐπὶ
6 πέντε ἡμέρας. ὡς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Γάιος καὶ ὀρχήσασθαι καὶ τραγῳδίαν ὑποκρίνασθαι ἠθέλησεν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἑτέρας τρεῖς ἡμέρας προήγγειλε, οὐκέθ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Χαιρέαν ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ τηρήσαντες αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου ἐξελθόντα[1] ἵνα τοὺς παῖδας θεάσηται, οὓς ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίας τῶν πάνυ εὐγενῶν ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν ὕμνον τὸν ἐς ἑαυτὸν πεποιημένον ᾆσαι μετεπέπεμπτο[2] δῆθεν, ἀπέκτειναν ἐν στενωπῷ τινι ἀπολαβόντες.
7 καὶ αὐτοῦ πεσόντος οὐδεὶς τῶν παρόντων ἀπέσχετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ νεκρὸν αὐτὸν ὄντα ὠμῶς ἐτίτρωσκον·[3] καί τινες καὶ τῶν σαρκῶν αὐτοῦ ἐγεύσαντο. τήν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα εὐθὺς ἔσφαξαν.—Xiph. 172, 8–19, Zon. 11, 7 (p. 22, 21–23, 5 D.), Joann. Antioch. fr. 84 M. (v. 7–11).

30 Γάιος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐν ἔτεσι τρισὶ καὶ μησὶν ἐννέα ἡμέραις τε ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι πράξας τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῖς[4] ὡς οὐκ ἦν θεὸς ἔμαθεν.[5]—Xiph. 172, 20–22, Zon. 11, 7 (p. 23, 6–8 D.), Joann. Antioch. fr. 84 M. (v. 11–14).

1[a] Ὑφ' ὧν τε καὶ μὴ παρὼν προσεκυνεῖτο, τότε κατεπτύετο· καὶ ὑφ' ὧν τε Ζεὺς καὶ θεὸς ὠνομά-

[1] ἐξελθόντα Xiph., ἐξερχόμενον Zon., ἐρχόμενον Joann. Antioch.

and drinking himself and was feasting the rest of the company. Even Pomponius Secundus, consul at the time, was taking his fill of food as he sat by the emperor's feet, and at the same time kept bending over continually to shower kisses upon them. A.D. 41

For Chaerea and Sabinus, pained as they were by the disgraceful proceedings, nevertheless restrained themselves for five days. But when Gaius himself wished to dance and act a tragedy and for this purpose announced three more days of the entertainment, the followers of Chaerea could endure it no longer, but waiting merely till he went out of the theatre to see the boys of exalted birth whom he had summoned from Greece and Ionia ostensibly to sing the hymn composed in his honour, they intercepted him in a narrow passage and killed him. When he had fallen, none of the men present kept hands off him, but all fell to stabbing him savagely, even though he was dead; and some even tasted of his flesh. His wife and daughter were also promptly slain.

Thus Gaius, after doing in three years, nine months, and twenty-eight days all that has been related, learned by actual experience that he was not a god.

Now he was spat upon by those who had been accustomed to do him reverence even when he was absent; and he became a sacrificial victim at the hands of those who were wont to speak and write of him as

[2] *μετεπέπεμπτο* Bs., *μετάπεμπτον* VC, *μετεπεμψατο* L', *μετεπέμπετο* Joann. Antioch.

[3] *ὠμῶς ἐτίτρωσκον* Xiph., *κατετίτρωσκον* Zon.

[4] *αὐτοῖς* Ziph., Zon., *αὐτὸς* Joann. Antioch. (in different construction).

[5] *ἔμαθε* Xiph., *ἔγνωκε* Zon., *ἐξέμαθεν* Joann. Antioch.

ζετό τε καὶ ἐγράφετο, σφάγιον ἐγίνετο· ἀνδριάντες τε αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνες ἐσύροντο, μεμνημένου μάλιστα τοῦ δήμου ὧν ἐπεπόνθει δεινῶν.

1b Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ὅσοι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ μέρους ἦσαν, ἐθορύβουν τε καὶ ἐστασίαζον ὥστε καὶ σφαγὰς ποιεῖν.—Joann. Antioch. fr. 84 M. (v. 14–20).

1c Ἐμνημόνευόν[1] τε οἱ παρόντες τοῦ λεχθέντος ποτὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον "εἴθε ἕνα αὐχένα εἴχετε," ἐπιδεικνύντες αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐκεῖνος μὲν αὐχένα

2 ἕνα σφεῖς δὲ δὴ χεῖρας πολλὰς ἔχοιεν. ἐπεὶ[2] δὲ τὸ δορυφορικὸν ἐταράττετο καὶ διαθέοντες ἐπυνθάνοντο τίς Γάιον ἔσφαξεν, Οὐαλέριος Ἀσιατικὸς ἀνὴρ ὑπατευκὼς θαυμαστὸν δή τινα τρόπον αὐτοὺς ἡσύχασεν, ἀνελθὼν ἐς περιφανές τι χωρίον καὶ ἐκβοήσας "εἴθε ἐγὼ αὐτὸν ἀπεκτόνειν." καταπλαγέντες γὰρ ἐπαύσαντο τοῦ θορύβου.—Xiph. 172, 22–31.

3 Ὅσοι δὲ ἄλλως πως ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἐποιήσαντο, πεισθέντες τοῖς ὅρκοις ἡσύχασαν. τούτων δὲ περὶ τὸν Γάιον πραττομένων, Σέντιός τε καὶ Σεκοῦνδος οἱ ὕπατοι εὐθὺς ἐκ τῶν θησαυρῶν τὰ χρήματα ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον μετεκόμισαν. φύλακάς

[1] Cf. Zonaras: ὡς δὲ ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ διηγγέλθη, πλὴν ὀλίγων τῶν συνησελγηκότων αὐτῷ πάντες ἔχαιρον, μεμνημένοι καὶ τοῦ λεχθέντος ποτὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὅτε ὀργισθεὶς τῷ δήμῳ ἔφη "εἴθε ἕνα αὐχένα εἴχετε," καὶ ἐπιλέγοντες ὅτι "σὺ μὲν ἕνα ἔχεις αὐχένα, ἡμεῖς δὲ χεῖρας πολλάς."

[2] Cf. Patricius: ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν συνασελγαινόντων καὶ συνεξημαρτηκότων αὐτῷ ἤχθοντο καὶ ἐταράττοντο καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας πολλὰ πειραθέντες καταστῆσαι οὐκ ἠδύναντο, Βαλέριος δὲ Ἀσιατικός, κ.τ.λ.

"Jupiter" and "god." His statues and his images were dragged from their pedestals, for the people in particular remembered the distress they had endured. A.D. 41

All the soldiers of the Germanic corps fell to rioting and quarrelling, with the result that there was some bloodshed.

The[1] bystanders recalled the words once addressed by him to the populace, "Would that you had but one neck," and they showed him that it was he who had but one neck, whereas they had many hands. And[2] when the pretorian guard became excited and began running about and inquiring who had slain Gaius, Valerius Asiaticus, an ex-consul, quieted them in a remarkable manner; he climbed up to a conspicuous place and cried: "Would that I had killed him!" This alarmed them so much that they stopped their outcry.

All those who in any way acknowledged the authority of the senate, were true to their oaths and became quiet. While the scenes just described were being enacted around Gaius, the consuls, Sentius and Secundus, immediately transferred the funds from the treasuries to the Capitol. They

[1] Compare Zonaras: When his death was announced, everybody except a few of his former companions in lewdness rejoiced. They recalled the remark he had once made when in his anger he exclaimed to the people, "Would that you had but one neck," and they now retorted, "You have but one neck, while we have many hands."

[2] Compare Patricius: Many of his companions in lewdness and crime were angry and excited, and in spite of many attempts could not quiet the soldiers; but Valerius Asiaticus, etc.

τε τοὺς πλείους τῆς γερουσίας ἐπέστησαν, καὶ στρατιώτας ἱκανούς, ἵνα μὴ διαρπαγὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους γένηται. οὗτοί τε ἅμα τοῖς ἐπάρχοις καὶ τοῖς περὶ Σαβῖνον καὶ Χαιρέαν[1] τὸ πρακτέον ἐσκοποῦντο.—Joann. Antioch. fr. 84 M. v. 20–28.

[1] Χαιρέαν Cramer, χεραίαν cod. (and so χερέας *sup.*).

stationed most of the senators and plenty of soldiers as guards over it to prevent any plundering from being done by the populace. So these men together with the prefects and the followers of Sabinus and Chaerea were deliberating what should be done. A.D. 41

BOOK LX

Κλαύδιος δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ὧδε ἐγένετο. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τοῦ Γαΐου φύλακας ἑκασταχόσε τῆς πόλεως οἱ ὕπατοι διαπέμψαντες τήν τε βουλὴν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἤθροισαν, καὶ πολλαὶ καὶ ποικίλαι γνῶμαι ἐλέχθησαν· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ δημοκρατεῖσθαι τοῖς δὲ μοναρχεῖσθαι ἐδόκει, καὶ οἱ
2 μὲν τὸν οἱ δὲ τὸν ᾑροῦντο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν λοιπὴν καὶ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν κατέτριψαν μηδὲν τελειώσαντες. κἀν τούτῳ στρατιῶταί τινες ἐς τὸ παλάτιον, ὅπως τι συλήσωσιν, ἐσελθόντες εὗρον τὸν Κλαύδιον ἐν γωνίᾳ που
3 σκοτεινῇ κατακεκρυμμένον (συνῆν τε γὰρ τῷ Γαΐῳ τοῦ θεάτρου ἐξερχομένῳ [1] καὶ τότε τὴν ταραχὴν φοβηθεὶς ὑπέπτηξε), καὶ αὐτὸν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς καὶ ἄλλον τινὰ ὄντα ἢ ἔχοντά τι ἐξείλκυσαν, ἔπειτα δὲ γνωρίσαντες [2] αὐτοκράτορά τε [3] προσηγόρευσαν καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸν ἤγαγον, κἀκ τούτου μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, οἷα τοῦ τε βασιλικοῦ γένους ὄντι καὶ ἐπιεικεῖ νομιζομένῳ,
3a πᾶν τὸ κράτος αὐτῷ ἔδωκαν. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἀνεδύετο καὶ ἀντέλεγεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅσον ἐξίστατο καὶ ἀντέκειτο τοσοῦτον μᾶλλον ἀντεφιλονείκουν οἱ στρατιῶται μὴ παρ᾽ ἑτέρων λαβεῖν αὐτοκράτορα, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοὶ δοῦναι πᾶσι. διὸ καὶ ἄκων, ὡς ἐδόκει, ὑπέκυψε.

[1] τοῦ θεάτρου ἐξερχομένῳ Zon., om. Xiph.
[2] γνωρίσαντες VL′, γνώσαντες C. [3] τε Zon., om. Xiph.

BOOK LX

Claudius became emperor on this wise. After the murder of Gaius the consuls despatched guards to every part of the city and convened the senate on the Capitol, where many and diverse opinions were expressed; for some favoured a democracy, some a monarchy, and some were for choosing one man, and some another. In consequence they spent the rest of the day and the whole night without accomplishing anything. Meanwhile some soldiers who had entered the palace for the purpose of plundering found Claudius hidden away in a dark corner somewhere. He had been with Gaius when he came out of the theatre, and now, fearing the tumult, was crouching down out of the way. At first the soldiers, supposing that he was some one else or perhaps had something worth taking, dragged him forth; and then, on recognizing him, they hailed him emperor and conducted him to the camp. Afterwards they together with their comrades entrusted to him the supreme power, inasmuch as he was of the imperial family and was regarded as suitable. In vain he drew back and remonstrated; for the more he attempted to avoid the honour and to resist, the more strongly did the soldiers in their turn insist upon not accepting an emperor appointed by others but upon giving one themselves to the whole world. Hence he yielded, albeit with apparent reluctance. A.D. 41

4 Οἱ δ' ὕπατοι τέως μὲν ἄλλους τε[1] καὶ δημάρ-
χους πέμποντες ἀπηγόρευον αὐτῷ μηδὲν τοιοῦ-
τον ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπί τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ
καὶ τοῖς νόμοις γενέσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ
συνόντες σφίσι στρατιῶται ἐγκατέλιπον, τότε δὴ
καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡμολόγησαν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὅσα ἐς τὴν
αὐταρχίαν αὐτοῦ[2] ἥκοντα ἦν αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσαντο.

2 Οὕτω μὲν Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Νέρων Γερμα-
νικός, ὁ τοῦ Δρούσου τοῦ τῆς Λιουίας παιδὸς υἱός,
τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε, μὴ πρὶν ἐν ἡγε-
μονίᾳ τινὶ τὸ παράπαν ἐξητασμένος, πλὴν ὅτι
μόνον ὑπάτευσεν· ἦγε δὲ πεντηκοστὸν ἔτος τῆς
ἡλικίας.—Xiph. 173, 8–174, 4, Zon. 11, 8 (p. 23,
19–24, 13 D.).

Ἐγένετο δὲ τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν οὐ φαῦλος[3] ἀλλὰ
ἀεὶ[4] καὶ ἐν παιδείᾳ ἤσκητο, ὥστε καὶ συγγράψαι
τινά, τὸ δὲ δὴ σῶμα νοσώδης, ὥστε καὶ τῇ
2 κεφαλῇ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ὑποτρέμειν. καὶ διὰ
τοῦτο καὶ τῷ φωνήματι ἐσφάλλετο, καὶ οὐ
πάντα ὅσα ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσέφερεν αὐτὸς
ἀνεγίγνωσκεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ταμίᾳ, τήν γε πρώτην
καὶ παρὼν ὥς γε πλήθει, ἀναλέγεσθαι ἐδίδου.
ὅσα δ' οὖν αὐτὸς ἀνεγίγνωσκε, καθήμενος ὡς τὸ
3 πολὺ ἐπελέγετο. καὶ μέντοι καὶ δίφρῳ κατα-
στέγῳ πρῶτος Ῥωμαίων ἐχρήσατο, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου
καὶ νῦν οὐχ ὅτι οἱ αὐτοκράτορες ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς
οἱ ὑπατευκότες διφροφορούμεθα· πρότερον δὲ ἄρα
ὅ τε Αὔγουστος καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος ἄλλοι τέ τινες ἐν
σκιμποδίοις, ὁποίοις αἱ γυναῖκες ἔτι καὶ νῦν
4 νομίζουσιν, ἔστιν ὅτε ἐφέροντο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ

[1] μὲν ἄλλους τε Bk., ἄλλους μὲν Xiph.
[2] αὐτοῦ om. L'.

The consuls for a time sent tribunes and others forbidding him to do anything of the sort, but to submit to the authority of the people and of the senate and of the laws; when, however, the soldiers who were with them deserted them, then at last they, too, yielded and voted him all the remaining prerogatives pertaining to the sovereignty. A.D. 41

Thus it was that Tiberius Claudius Nero Germanicus, the son of Drusus the son of Livia, obtained the imperial power without having been previously tested at all in any position of authority, except for the fact that he had been consul. He was in his fiftieth year.

In mental ability he was by no means inferior, as his faculties had been in constant training (in fact, he had actually written some historical treatises); but he was sickly in body, so that his head and hands shook slightly. Because of this his voice was also faltering, and he did not himself read all the measures that he introduced before the senate, but would give them to the quaestor to read, though at first, at least, he was generally present. Whatever he did read himself, he usually delivered sitting down. Furthermore, he was the first of the Romans to use a covered chair, and it is due to his example that to-day not only the emperors but we ex-consuls as well are carried in chairs; of course, even before his time Augustus, Tiberius, and some others had been carried in litters such as women still affect even at the present day. It was not these in-

[3] ἐγένετο δὲ . . . φαῦλος exc. Val. Zon., οὗτος τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν οὐ φαῦλος ἐγένετο Xiph.; M resumes with ἀλλὰ

[4] ἀεὶ M. om. exc. Val. Xiph. Zon.

διὰ ταῦθ' οὕτως, ὅσον ὑπό τε τῶν ἐξελευθέρων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν αἷς συνῆν, ἐκακύνετο. περιφανέστατα γὰρ τῶν ὁμοίων ἐδουλοκρατήθη τε ἅμα καὶ ἐγυναικοκρατήθη· ἅτε γὰρ ἐκ παίδων ἔν τε νοσηλείᾳ καὶ ἐν φόβῳ πολλῷ τραφείς,[1] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πλεῖον τῆς ἀληθείας εὐήθειαν προσποιησάμενος, ὅπερ που καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ
5 ὡμολόγησε, καὶ πολὺν μὲν χρόνον τῇ τήθῃ τῇ Λιουίᾳ πολὺν δὲ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ Ἀντωνίᾳ τοῖς τ' ἀπελευθέροις συνδιαιτηθείς, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐν συνουσίαις γυναικῶν πλείοσι γενόμενος, οὐδὲν ἐλευθεροπρεπὲς ἐκέκτητο, ἀλλὰ καίπερ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἁπάντων καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων αὐτῶν κρατῶν ἐδεδούλωτο. ἐπετίθεντο δ' αὐτῷ ἔν τε τοῖς
6 πότοις μάλιστα καὶ ἐν ταῖς μίξεσι· πάνυ γὰρ ἀπλήστως ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι προσέκειτο, καὶ ἦν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ εὐαλωτότατος. πρὸς δὲ καὶ δειλίαν εἶχεν, ὑφ' ἧς πολλάκις ἐκπληττόμενος οὐδὲν τῶν προσηκόντων ἐξελογίζετο. καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦτο προσλαμβάνοντες οὐκ ἐλάχιστα κατ-
7 ειργάζοντο· ἐκεῖνόν τε[2] γὰρ ἐκφοβοῦντες ἐξεκαρποῦντο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοσοῦτον δέος ἐνέβαλλον ὥσθ', ἵνα συλλαβὼν εἴπω, πολλοὶ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὑπό τε τοῦ Κλαυδίου καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καλούμενοι τὸν μὲν ὡς καὶ κατ' ἄλλο τι παρίεντο, πρὸς δὲ ἐκείνους ἐφοίτων.

3 Τοιοῦτος οὖν δή τις, ὥς γε συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, ὤν, οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ δεόντως ἔπραττεν, ὁσάκις ἔξω

[1] τραφεὶς cod. Peir. Xiph. Zon., στραφεὶς M.
[2] ἐκεῖνόν τε Bk., καὶ ἐκεῖνόν τε M.

firmities, however, that caused the deterioration in Claudius so much as it was the freedmen and the women with whom he associated; for he, more conspicuously than any of his peers, was ruled by slaves and by women. From a child he had been reared a constant prey to illness and great terror, and for that reason had feigned a stupidity greater than was really the case (a fact that he himself admitted in the senate); and he had lived for a long time with his grandmother Livia and for another long period with his mother Antonia and with the freedmen, and moreover he had had many amours with women. Hence he had acquired none of the qualities befitting a freeman, but, though ruler of all the Romans and their subjects, had become himself a slave. They would take advantage of him particularly when he was inclined to drink or to sexual intercourse, since he applied himself to both these vices insatiably and when so employed was exceedingly easy to master. Moreover, he was afflicted by cowardice, which often so overpowered him that he could not reason out anything as he ought. They seized upon this failing of his, too, to accomplish many of their purposes; for by frightening him they could use him fully for their own ends, and could at the same time inspire the rest with great terror. To give but a single example, once, when a large number of persons were invited to dinner on the same day by Claudius and by these associates, the guests neglected Claudius on one pretence or another, and flocked around the others. A.D. 41

Though, generally speaking, he was such as I have described, still he did not a few things in a proper manner whenever he was free from the afore-

τε τῶν προειρημένων παθῶν ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἑαυτοῦ
ἐκράτει. λέξω δὲ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ὧν ἐποίησε.
2 Τὰ μὲν ψηφισθέντα οἱ εὐθὺς πάντα, πλὴν τῆς
τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπωνυμίας, ἐδέξατο (ταύτην γὰρ μετὰ
ταῦτα προσέθετο), οὐ μέντοι καὶ παραυτίκα ἀλλ'
ὀψὲ καὶ τριακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐσῆλθε.
τόν τε γὰρ Γάιον οὕτως ὁρῶν ἀπολωλότα, καὶ
πυνθανόμενός τινας ὡς καὶ βελτίονας ἑαυτοῦ
πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπ' αὐτῆς προβεβλῆσθαι, οὐκ
ἐθάρσει, ἀλλὰ τά τε ἄλλα ἀκριβῶς ἐφυλάττετο,
3 καὶ πάντας τοὺς προσιόντας οἱ καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ
γυναῖκας ἐρευνᾶσθαι ἐποίει μή τι ξιφίδιον ἔχωσιν,
ἔν τε τοῖς συμποσίοις πάντως τινὰς στρατιώτας
συνόντας εἶχε. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐξ ἐκείνου κατα-
δειχθὲν καὶ δεῦρο ἀεὶ γίγνεται, ἡ δὲ δὴ ἔρευνα ἡ
4 διὰ πάντων ἐπὶ[1] Οὐεσπασιανοῦ[2] ἐπαύσατο. τὸν
μὲν οὖν Χαιρέαν καί τινας ἄλλους, καίπερ πάνυ
ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Γαΐου θανάτῳ ἡσθείς, ὅμως ἀπέκτεινεν·
οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου πρᾶξιν
εἰλήφει χάριν αὐτῷ ᾔδει, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐτόλμησεν
αὐτοκράτορα ἀποσφάξαι ἐδυσχέραινεν, πόρρωθεν
τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐς ἀσφάλειαν προορώμενος. ἔπραξε
δὲ τοῦτο οὐχ ὡς καὶ τῷ Γαΐῳ τιμωρῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς
5 ἑαυτῷ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα αὐτὸν λαβών. καί οἱ ὁ
Σαβῖνος ἑκὼν ἐπαπέθανε,[3] μὴ ἀξιώσας κολα-
σθέντος αὐτοῦ περιεῖναι.

Τοῖς γε μὴν ἄλλοις, οἳ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐκφα-
νῶς ἐσπούδασαν ἢ καὶ ἐπίδοξοι λήψεσθαι τὸ
κράτος ἐγένοντο, οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἐμνησικάκησεν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ἀρχὰς ἔδωκεν· ἐκδηλότατα

[1] ἐπὶ Rk., διὰ M Zon.
[2] Οὐεσπασιανοῦ R. Steph., οὐεσπεσιανοῦ M.

said weaknesses and was master of himself. I shall now take up his acts in detail. A.D. 41

He promptly accepted all the honours that were voted to him, except the title of Father, and this he afterwards took; however, he did not enter the senate at once, but waited until the thirtieth day. For, seeing how Gaius had perished and learning that some others had been proposed by that body for the throne as being better men than he, he was disposed to be timid. Therefore he exercised great caution in everything; he caused all who came near him, men and women alike, to be searched, for fear they might have a dagger, and at banquets he was sure to have some soldiers present. The latter practice, thus established by him, continues to this day; but the indiscriminate searching of everybody came to an end under Vespasian. He put Chaerea and some others to death, in spite of his pleasure at the death of Gaius. For he was looking far ahead to insure his own safety, and so, instead of feeling grateful toward the man through whose deed he had gained the throne, he was displeased with him for having dared to slay an emperor. He acted in this matter, not as the avenger of Gaius, but as though he had caught Chaerea plotting against himself. And soon after Chaerea's death Sabinus took his own life, not desiring to live after his comrade had been executed.

As for the others, however, who had openly shown their eagerness for a democracy or had been regarded as eligible for the throne, Claudius, far from bearing malice toward them, actually gave them honours and offices. In plainer terms than any

[3] ἐπαπέθανε Dind., ἀπέθανε M Zon., συναπέθανε L′

γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πάντων πώποτε οὐ τῷ λόγῳ μόνον τὴν ἄδειάν σφισι, κατὰ τὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ζῆλον, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ὑπέσχετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ
6 παρέσχε. τό τε ἔγκλημα τῆς ἀσεβείας ὁμοίως οὐκ ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι μόνοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἔπαυσε, καὶ οὐδένα διὰ τοιοῦτό τι οὔτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις οὔτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα ἐκόλασε.
7 τούς γε μὴν ἀδικήσαντάς τι ἢ καὶ προπηλακίσαντας αὐτὸν ἰδιώτην ὄντα (πολλοὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἄλλως τε ὡς μηδενὸς λόγου ἄξιον, καὶ οἱ μὲν τῷ Τιβερίῳ οἱ δὲ τῷ Γαΐῳ χαριζόμενοι, ἐπεποιήκεσαν) πλαστῷ μὲν ἐγκλήματι οὐδενὶ μετῄει, εἰ μέντοι τι ἄλλο κακουργοῦντας εὕρισκε, καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνα ἐτιμωρεῖτο.
4 τά τε τέλη τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαΐου ἐσαχθέντα, καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα ἐπηγορίαν τινὰ τῶν πραχθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἶχε, κατέλυσε μέν, οὐκ ἀθρόα δέ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἑκάστῳ πῃ προσέτυχε. καὶ τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας ἀδίκως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, τούς τε ἄλλους καὶ τὰς ἀδελφάς, τήν τε Ἀγριππῖναν καὶ τὴν Ἰουλίαν,
2 καταγαγὼν τὰς οὐσίας σφίσιν ἀπέδωκεν. τῶν τε ἐκ τοῦ οἰκήματος (πλεῖστοι δὲ ἐδέδεντο) τοὺς μὲν ἐπ' ἀσεβείᾳ τοιούτοις τέ τισιν ἑτέροις ἐγκλήμασιν ἐμπεπτωκότας ἀπήλλαξε, τοὺς δ' ὄντως ἀδικοῦντας ἐκόλασε. σφόδρα γὰρ ἀκριβῶς σφας ἐξήτασεν, ὅπως μήθ' οἱ κακουργήσαντές τι διὰ τοὺς συκοφαντουμένους ἀφεθῶσι, μήθ' οὗτοι δι'
3 ἐκείνους παραπόλωνται. καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην γε ὡς εἰπεῖν ἡμέραν, ἤτοι μετὰ πάσης τῆς γερουσίας ἢ καὶ ἰδίᾳ, τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ἤδη δὲ

[1] The return of the "Party of the Piraeus." Cf. xliv. 26.

ruler that ever lived he promised them immunity, therein imitating the example of the Athenians,[1] as he said, and it was no mere promise, but he afforded it in actual fact. He abolished the charge of *maiestas* not only in the case of writings but in the case of overt acts as well, and punished no one on this ground for offences committed either before this time or later. As for those who had wronged or insulted him when he was a private citizen,—and there were many who had behaved thus toward him, both because he had been held in no esteem, and also, more especially, in order to please either Tiberius or Gaius,—he did not prosecute them on any fictitious charge, but if he found them guilty of some other crime, he would take vengeance on them at the same time for their former abuse. The taxes introduced in the reign of Gaius and any other measures that had led to denunciation of that ruler's acts were abolished by Claudius,—not all at once, to be sure, but as opportunity offered in each case. He also brought back those whom Gaius had unjustly exiled, including the latter's sisters Agrippina and Julia, and restored to them their property. Of the persons in prison—and a very large number were thus confined—he liberated those who had been put there for *maiestas* and similar charges, but punished those who were guilty of actual wrongdoing. For he investigated all the cases very carefully, in order that those who had committed crimes should not be released along with those who had been falsely accused, nor the latter, on the other hand, perish along with the former. Almost every day, either in company with the whole senate or alone, he would sit on a tribunal trying cases, usually A.D. 41

καὶ ἄλλοθι, ἐπὶ βήματος ἐδίκαζε· καὶ γὰρ τὸ κατὰ τοὺς συνέδρους, ἐκλειφθὲν ἐξ οὗ ὁ Τιβέριος
4 ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἐξεχώρησεν, ἀνενεώσατο. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις τοῖς τε στρατηγοῖς, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς τὴν διοίκησιν ἔχουσι, συνεξητάζετο, καὶ ὀλίγα παντελῶς τοῖς ἄλλοις δικα-
5 στηρίοις ἐπέτρεπε. τά τε φάρμακα ἃ πολλὰ ἐν τοῦ Γαΐου εὑρέθη, καὶ τὰ βιβλία τὰ τοῦ Πρωτογένους, ὃν καὶ ἀπέκτεινε, τά τε γράμματα ἃ ἐπλάσσετο μὲν ὁ Γάιος κεκαυκέναι εὑρέθη δὲ ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ ὄντα, τοῖς τε βουλευταῖς ἐπέδειξε, καὶ ἔδωκε καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις τοῖς τε γράψασιν αὐτὰ καὶ καθ' ὧν ἐγέγραπτο ἀναγνῶναι, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο κατέφλεξε. τῆς τε γερουσίας ἀτιμῶσαι τὸν Γάιον ἐθελησάσης ψηφισθῆναι μὲν αὐτὸς ἐκώλυσεν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς
6 ἁπάσας ἠφάνισε. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τὸ μὲν ὄνομα αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ὧν μνήμην ἐπί τε τοῖς ὅρκοις καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς ποιούμεθα, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκ δόγματος ἀτιμίαν οὐδέτερός[1] σφων ὦφλε.

5 Τὰ μὲν δὴ οὖν ὑπό τε τοῦ Γαΐου καὶ ὑφ' ἑτέρων δι' ἐκεῖνον οὐκ ὀρθῶς γενόμενα ἀνέτρεψε, τῷ δὲ δὴ Δρούσῳ τῷ πατρὶ τῇ τε Ἀντωνίᾳ τῇ μητρὶ ἱπποδρομίας ἐς τὰ γενέσια ἔδωκε, τὰς πανηγύρεις τὰς ἐς ταὐτὸν αὐταῖς συμβαινούσας μεταθεὶς
2 ἐς ἑτέρας ἡμέρας, ὅπως μὴ ἅμα ποιῶνται. τήν τε τήθην τὴν Λιουίαν οὐ μόνον ἵππων ἀγῶσιν

[1] οὐδέτερός R. Steph., οὐδετέροις M.

in the Forum, but sometimes elsewhere; for he renewed the practice of having advisers sit with him, a practice that had been abandoned from the time that Tiberius withdrew to his island. He also frequently joined the consuls and the praetors, especially those who had the oversight of the finances, in their investigations, and very few, indeed, were the cases that he turned over to the other courts. He destroyed the poisons which were found in abundance in the residence of Gaius; and the books of Protogenes (who was put to death), together with the papers which Gaius pretended he had burned, but which were actually found in the palace, he first showed to the senators and then gave them to the very men most concerned, both those who had written them and those against whom they had been written, to be read by them, after which he burned them up. And yet, when the senate desired to dishonour Gaius, he personally prevented the passage of the measure, but on his own responsibility caused all his predecessor's images to disappear by night. Hence the name of Gaius does not occur in the list of emperors whom we mention in our oaths and prayers any more than does that of Tiberius; and yet neither one of them suffered disgrace by official decree. A.D. 41

Claudius, accordingly, undid the unjust acts performed by Gaius and by others at his instigation. To his father Drusus and to his mother Antonia he granted games in the Circus on their birthdays, postponing to different days the festivals which normally occurred at the same time, in order that there should not be two celebrations at once. His grandmother Livia he not only honoured with

ἐτίμησεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπηθανάτισεν, ἄγαλμά τέ τι
αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ Αὐγουστείῳ ἱδρύσας καὶ τὰς θυσίας
ταῖς ἀειπαρθένοις ἱεροποιεῖν προστάξας, ταῖς τε
γυναιξὶν ὅρκον τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς ποιεῖσθαι κελεύ-
3 σας. οὕτω δὲ δὴ τοὺς πατέρας ἀποσεμνύνας
αὐτὸς οὐδὲν ἔξω τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν
φερόντων ἐδέξατο· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῇ τοῦ Αὐγούστου
νουμηνίᾳ, ἐν ᾗ ἐγεγέννητο, ἠγωνίζοντο μὲν ἵπποι,
οὐ δι' ἐκεῖνον δὲ ἀλλ' ὅτι ὁ τοῦ Ἄρεως ναὸς ἐν
ταύτῃ καθιέρωτο καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐτησίοις ἀγῶσιν
4 ἐτετίμητο. ἔν τε οὖν τούτοις ἐμετρίαζε, καὶ
προσαπηγόρευσε μήτε προσκυνεῖν τινα αὐτὸν
μήτε θυσίαν οἱ μηδεμίαν ποιεῖν. τά τε ἐπιβο-
ήματα τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ὑπέρογκα ἔπαυσε· καὶ
εἰκόνα μίαν, καὶ ταύτην ἀργυρᾶν, ἀνδριάντας τε
δύο χαλκοῦ τε καὶ λίθου ψηφισθέντας αὐτῷ τὰ
5 πρῶτα ἔλαβε. μάταια γὰρ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα
ἀναλώματα εἶναι, καὶ προσέτι πολλὴν μὲν ζημίαν
πολὺν δὲ καὶ ὄχλον τῇ γε[1] πόλει παρέχειν ἔλεγε·
πάντες μὲν γὰρ οἱ ναοὶ πάντα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα
ἔργα καὶ ἀνδριάντων καὶ ἀναθημάτων ἐπεπλή-
ρωτο, ὥστε καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων βουλεύσεσθαι[2] ἔφη
6 ἃ χρὴ πρᾶξαι. τοῖς τε στρατηγοῖς τοὺς ἀγῶνας
τοὺς ὁπλομαχικοὺς ἀπηγόρευσε μὴ ποιεῖν, καὶ εἰ
δή τις ἄλλος αὐτοὺς ὁπουδήποτε ἐπιτελοίη, ἀλλὰ
μήτι[3] γε ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας
γιγνομένων σφῶν ἢ γράφεσθαι ἢ καὶ λέγεσθαι
ἐκέλευσε. καὶ οὕτω γε πάντα ταῦτα κρίσει καὶ
οὐκ ἐπιτηδεύσει ἔπραττεν ὥστε καὶ ἄλλα ὁμοίως

[1] γε R. Steph., τε M.
[2] βουλεύσεσθαι R. Steph., βουλεύσασθαι M.

equestrian contests but also deified; and he set up a statue to her in the temple of Augustus, charging the Vestal Virgins with the duty of offering the proper sacrifices, and he ordered that women should use her name in taking oaths. But, though he paid such reverence to his ancestors, he would accept nothing for himself beyond the titles belonging to his office. It is true that on the first day of August, which was his birthday, there were equestrian contests, but they were not given on his account; it was rather because the temple of Mars had been dedicated on that day and this event had been celebrated thereafter by annual contests. Besides his moderation in this respect, he further forbade any one to worship him or to offer him any sacrifice; he checked the many excessive acclamations accorded him; and he accepted, at first, only one image, and that a silver one, and two statues, of bronze and marble, that had been voted to him. All such expenditures, he declared, were useless and furthermore caused great loss and embarrassment to the city. In fact, all the temples and all the other public buildings had become filled with statues and votive offerings, so that he said he would consider what to do even with them. He ordered the praetors not to give the customary gladiatorial exhibitions, and also commanded that if any one else gave them in any place whatsoever, it should at least not be recorded or reported that they were being given for the emperor's preservation. He became so used to settling all these matters by his judgment, and not by precedent, that he arranged other affairs in A.D. 41

[3] μήτι Dind., μήτοι M.

7 ἔνεμε. τὰς γοῦν θυγατέρας ἐν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ τὴν
μὲν ἐγγυήσας Λουκίῳ Ἰουνίῳ Σιλανῷ τὴν δὲ
ἐκδοὺς Γναίῳ Πομπηίῳ Μάγνῳ οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον
ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις
8 ἐδίκασε καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ἠθροίσθη. τούς τε γαμ-
βροὺς τότε τε ἐν τοῖς εἴκοσιν ἀνδράσιν ἄρξαι
καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πολιαρχῆσαι ἐν ταῖς ἀνοχαῖς
ἐκέλευσεν ὀψέ τέ ποτε πέντε ἔτεσι θᾶσσον τὰς
ἄλλας ἀρχὰς αἰτῆσαί σφισιν ἐπέτρεψε. τούτου
δὲ δὴ τοῦ Πομπηίου ὁ Γάιος τὴν τοῦ Μάγνου
9 ἐπίκλησιν περιέκοψεν. ὀλίγου μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀπέ-
σφαξεν αὐτὸν ὅτι οὕτως ὠνομάζετο· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο
μὲν καταφρονήσας ὡς καὶ παιδίου ἔτ' αὐτοῦ
ὄντος οὐκ ἐποίησε, τὴν δὲ δὴ πρόσρησιν κατέ-
λυσεν, εἰπὼν μὴ εἶναί οἱ ἀσφαλὲς Μάγνον τινὰ
προσαγορεύεσθαι. ὅ γε μὴν Κλαύδιος καὶ ἐκεῖνο[1]
αὐτῷ τὸ πρόσρημα ἀπέδωκε καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα
προσσυνῴκισε.

6 Ταῦτά τε οὖν ἐπιεικῶς ἔπραττε, καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων
ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καταβάντων ποτὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δίφρων
ἵνα διαλεχθῶσιν αὐτῷ, προσεξανέστη τε καὶ
ἀντιπροσῆλθέ σφισιν, ἐπεὶ ἔν γε τῇ Νέᾳ πόλει[2]
2 καὶ παντάπασιν ἰδιωτικῶς ἔζη· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα
ἑλληνικῶς καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ συνόντες οἱ διῃτᾶτο,
καὶ ἐν μὲν ταῖς τῆς μουσικῆς θεωρίαις ἱμάτιον καὶ
κρηπῖδας, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ γυμνικῷ ἀγῶνι πορφυρίδα
3 καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν ἐλάμβανε. καὶ μέντοι καὶ
περὶ τὰ χρήματα θαυμαστὸς ἐγένετο. ἀπηγόρευσε
μὲν γὰρ ἀργύριόν οἱ,[3] ὅπερ ἐπί τε τοῦ Αὐγούστου
καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαΐου ἐγίγνετο, προσφέρειν, ἀπεῖπε

[1] ἐκεῖνο R. Steph., ἐκείνωι M.
[2] Νέᾳ πόλει Bk., νεαπολει M. [3] οἱ supplied by Bk.

the same manner. For example, when in this same year he betrothed one of his daughters to Lucius Junius Silanus and gave the other in marriage to Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, he did nothing out of the ordinary to celebrate either event; on the contrary, he himself held court on those days and the senate met as usual. He ordered his sons-in-law to hold office for the time being among the Vigintiviri and later to act as prefects of the city at the Feriae; and it was not until much later that he gave them permission to stand for the other offices five years earlier than was customary. Gaius had taken away from this Pompeius his title of Magnus and, indeed, had come very near killing him because he was so named; yet out of contempt for him, since he was still but a boy, he did not go to that length, but merely abolished his cognomen, saying that it was not safe for him that any one should be called Magnus. Claudius now not only restored to him his former title but also gave him his daughter to wife. A.D. 41

In all this, then, his course was satisfactory. Furthermore, when in the senate the consuls once came down from their seats to talk with him, he rose in his turn and went to meet them. And, for that matter, in Neapolis he lived altogether like an ordinary citizen; for both he and his associates adopted the Greek manner of life in all respects, wearing a cloak and high boots, for example, at the musical exhibitions, and a purple mantle and golden crown at the gymnastic contest. Moreover, his attitude toward money was remarkable. For he forbade any one to bring him contributions, as had been the practice under Augustus and Gaius, and ordered that no one who had any

δὲ μηδὲ κληρονόμον αὐτόν, ὅστις ἂν συγγενεῖς ὁποιουσδήποτε αὐτὸς ἔχῃ, καταλείπειν, καὶ [1] τῶν προδημευθέντων [2] ἐπί τε τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαΐου τὰ μὲν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἔτι περιοῦσι τὰ δὲ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν ἀπέδωκεν.

4 Εἰθισμένου τε,[3] εἰ καὶ ὁτιοῦν περὶ τὰς πανηγύρεις ἔξω τοῦ νενομισμένου πραχθείη,[4] αὖθις αὐτάς, καθάπερ εἴρηταί μοι, γίγνεσθαι, καὶ πολλάκις τούτου [5] καὶ τρίτον καὶ τέταρτον πέμπτον τε, καὶ δέκατον ἔστιν ὅτε, τὸ μέν τι κατὰ τύχην τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον ἐκ παρασκευῆς τῶν ὠφελουμένων ἀπ'
5 αὐτοῦ, συμβαίνοντος, νόμῳ μὲν ἔταξε μίαν ἡμέραν τοὺς ἀγῶνας τῶν ἵππων δεύτερον γίγνεσθαι, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὡς πλήθει ἐπέσχεν· οὐδὲν γάρ τι ῥᾳδίως, ἅτε μηδὲν μέγα ἀποκερδαίνοντες, οἱ τεχνώμενοι αὐτὸ ἐπλημμέλουν.

6 Τούς τε Ἰουδαίους πλεονάσαντας αὖθις, ὥστε χαλεπῶς ἂν ἄνευ ταραχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου σφῶν τῆς πόλεως εἰρχθῆναι, οὐκ ἐξήλασε μέν, τῷ δὲ δὴ πατρίῳ βίῳ χρωμένους ἐκέλευσε μὴ συναθροίζεσθαι. τάς τε ἑταιρείας ἐπαναχθείσας ὑπὸ τοῦ
7 Γαΐου διέλυσε. καὶ ὁρῶν μηδὲν ὄφελος ὂν ἀπαγορεύεσθαί τινα τῷ πλήθει μὴ ποιεῖν, ἂν μὴ καὶ ὁ καθ' ἡμέραν αὐτῶν βίος μεταρρυθμισθῇ, τά τε καπηλεῖα ἐς ἃ συνιόντες ἔπινον κατέλυσε, καὶ προσέταξε μήτε κρέας που ἑφθὸν μήθ' ὕδωρ

[1] αὐτὸς ἔχῃ καταλείπειν καὶ Bs. (comparing Zon. : ἀπεῖπε δὲ μηδὲ κληρονόμος παρά τινος συγγενεῖς ἔχοντος καταλιμπάνεσθαι), αὐτῷ καταλείπειν M.

[2] προδημευθέντων Zon., προμυθευθέντων M.

[3] εἰθισμένου τε Canter, οἷς μὲν οὔτε M.

[4] πραχθείη Leuncl., πραχθὲν M.

relatives at all should name him as his heir; he furthermore gave back the sums that had previously been confiscated under Tiberius and Gaius, either to the victims themselves, if they still survived, or otherwise to their children. A.D. 41

It had been the custom that if any detail whatsoever in connexion with the festivals was carried out contrary to precedent, they should be given over again, as I have stated.[1] But since such repetitions were frequent, occurring a third, fourth, fifth, and sometimes a tenth time, partly, to be sure, as the result of accident, but generally by deliberate intent on the part of those who were benefited by these repetitions, Claudius enacted a law that the equestrian contests in case of a second exhibition should occupy only one day; and in actual practice he usually prevented any repetition at all. For the schemers were not so ready to commit irregularities now that they gained very little by doing so.

As for the Jews, who had again increased so greatly that by reason of their multitude it would have been hard without raising a tumult to bar them from the city, he did not drive them out, but ordered them, while continuing their traditional mode of life, not to hold meetings. He also disbanded the clubs, which had been reintroduced by Gaius. Moreover, seeing that there was no use in forbidding the populace to do certain things unless their daily life should be reformed, he abolished the taverns where they were wont to gather and drink, and commanded that

[1] In lvi. 27, 4.

[5] τούτου Leuncl., τοῦτο M.

*θερμὸν πιπράσκεσθαι, καί τινας ἐπὶ τούτῳ μὴ
πειθαρχήσαντας ἐκόλασεν.*
8 *Ἀπέδωκε μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι τοὺς ἀνδρι-
άντας οὓς ὁ Γάιος ἐξ αὐτῶν μετεπέπεμπτο,
ἀπέδωκε δὲ καὶ τοῖς Διοσκόροις*[1] *τὸν νεὼν τῷ
τε Πομπηίῳ τὴν τοῦ θεάτρου μνήμην· καὶ αὐτῷ
καὶ τὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου ὄνομα ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ προσθεὶς
ἔγραψεν, ἐπειδὴ καυθεῖσαν αὐτὴν ἀνῳκοδομήκει.*
9 *τὸ γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ ἐκείνῃ μέν, οὐχ ὅτι κατεσκεύασεν
ἀλλ' ὅτι*[2] *καθιέρωσεν αὐτήν, ἄλλῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ
ἐνεκόλαψεν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῇ στολῇ τῇ ἐπινικίῳ
παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πανήγυριν, καίτοι ψηφισθέν,
ἐχρήσατο, ἀλλ' ἔθυσεν*[3] *ἐν αὐτῇ μόνον, τὰ δὲ
ἄλλα ἐν τῷ περιπορφύρῳ ἱματίῳ διῴκησεν.*
7 *Ἐσήγαγε δὲ ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν ἄλλους τε καὶ
ἱππέας καὶ γυναῖκας τῶν ὁμοίων, οἵπερ που καὶ
ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαΐου τοῦτο ποιεῖν εἰώθεσαν, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ
ἔχαιρέ σφισιν, ἀλλ' ἐς ἔλεγχον τῶν γεγονότων·
αὖθις γοῦν οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ἐπί γε τοῦ*
2 *Κλαυδίου ἐξητάσθη. τήν τε πυρρίχην ἣν οἱ
παῖδες οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαΐου μεταπεμφθέντες ἤσκουν,
ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἅπαξ ὠρχήσαντο, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολι-
τείᾳ τιμηθέντες ἀπεπέμφθησαν, ἄλλοι δὲ αὖθις*
3 *ἐκ τῆς θεραπείας ἐπεδείχθησαν. ἐν μὲν δὴ
τῷ θεάτρῳ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἱππο-
δρόμῳ καμηλοί τε ἅπαξ καὶ ἵπποι δωδε-
κάκις ἠγωνίσαντο, ἄρκτοι τε τριακόσιαι καὶ
Λιβυκὰ θηρία ἴσα αὐταῖς ἐσφάγη. καὶ ἑώρων*

[1] *Διοσκόροις* Bk., *διοσκούροις* M.
[2] *ὅτι* Rk., *ὅτι καὶ* M.
[3] *ἔθυσεν* Bk., *εὐθὺς* M.

no boiled meat or hot water[1] should be sold; and he punished some who disobeyed in this matter. A.D. 41

He restored to the various cities the statues which Gaius had ordered them to send to Rome, and he also restored to Castor and Pollux their temple, and placed Pompey's name once more upon his theatre. On the stage of the latter he inscribed also the name of Tiberius, because that emperor had rebuilt the structure after it had been burned. His own name also he carved on the stage (not because he had built it, but because he had dedicated it), but on no other building. Furthermore, he did not wear the triumphal dress throughout the entire festival, though permission to do so had been voted, but appeared in it merely when offering the sacrifice; the rest of the festival he superintended clad in the purple-bordered toga.

He forced to appear on the stage any knights and others, together with women of similar rank, who had been accustomed to do so in the reign of Gaius, but he did this, not because he took any pleasure in their performance, but to expose and reprove their conduct in the past; certain it is at least that none of them appeared again on the stage during the reign of Claudius. The Pyrrhic dance, which the boys sent for by Gaius were practising, was performed by them once, after which they were rewarded with citizenship for it and then sent back home; but others, chosen from among his retinue, later gave exhibitions. So much for what took place in the theatre. In the Circus there was one contest with camels and twelve with horses, and three hundred bears and the same number of Libyan beasts were

[1] See note on lvii. 14.

μέν που πρότερον ἐν αὐτῷ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κατὰ σφᾶς
ὡς ἕκαστοι, τό τε βουλεῦον καὶ τὸ ἱππεῦον καὶ
ὁ ὅμιλος, ἀφ' οὗπερ τοῦτ' ἐνομίσθη, οὐ μέντοι καὶ
4 τεταγμένα σφίσι χωρία ἀπεδέδεικτο· ἀλλὰ τότε ὁ
Κλαύδιος τήν τε ἕδραν τὴν νῦν οὖσαν τοῖς βουλευ-
ταῖς ἀπέκρινε, καὶ προσέτι τοῖς ἐθέλουσί σφων
ἑτέρωθί που καὶ ἔν γε ἰδιωτικῇ ἐσθῆτι θεάσασθαι
ἐπέτρεψε. ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα τήν τε γερουσίαν
μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας τάς τε φυλὰς
εἱστίασε.

8 Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῷ τε Ἀντιόχῳ τὴν Κομμα-
γηνὴν ἀπέδωκεν (ὁ γὰρ Γάιος, καίπερ αὐτός οἱ δοὺς
αὐτήν, ἀφῄρητο), καὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην τὸν Ἴβηρα,
ὃν ὁ Γάιος μεταπεμψάμενος ἐδεδέκει, οἴκαδε πρὸς
2 ἀνάληψιν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπέπεμψεν. ἄλλῳ τέ τινι
Μιθριδάτῃ, τὸ γένος ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ πάνυ ἔχοντι,
τὸν Βόσπορον ἐχαρίσατο, καὶ τῷ Πολέμωνι
χώραν τινὰ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Κιλικίας ἀντέδωκε. τῷ
γὰρ Ἀγρίππᾳ τῷ Παλαιστίνῳ συμπράξαντί οἱ
τὴν ἡγεμονίαν (ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὤν) τήν τε
ἀρχὴν προσεπηύξησε καὶ τιμὰς ὑπατικὰς ἔνειμε.
3 τῷ τε ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Ἡρώδῃ τό τε στρατηγικὸν
ἀξίωμα καὶ δυναστείαν τινὰ ἔδωκε, καὶ ἔς τε τὸ
συνέδριον ἐσελθεῖν σφισι καὶ χάριν οἱ ἑλληνιστὶ
γνῶναι ἐπέτρεψεν.

4 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Κλαυδίου ἔργα ἦν
καὶ ὑφ' ἁπάντων ἐπῃνεῖτο· ἐπράχθη δὲ καὶ ἄλλα
ἄττα τότε, οὐχ ὁμοιότροπα, ὑπό τε τῶν ἐξελευθέ-
ρων αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Οὐαλερίας
5 Μεσσαλίνης. αὕτη μὲν γὰρ τὴν Ἰουλίαν τὴν
ἀδελφιδῆν αὐτοῦ, ὀργισθεῖσά τε ἅμα ὅτι μήτε
ἐτιμᾶτο ὑπ' αὐτῆς μήτε ἐκολακεύετο, καὶ ζηλο-

slain. Previously to this each of the three classes, senatorial, equestrian, and the populace, had sat apart by itself while watching the games; this had long been the practice, and yet no definite positions had been assigned to them. But Claudius now set apart for the senators the section which still belongs to them, and he furthermore permitted any members who so desired to sit elsewhere and even to appear in citizen's dress. After this he banqueted the senators and their wives, the knights, and also the tribes. A.D. 41

Next he restored Commagene to Antiochus, since Gaius, though he had himself given him the district, had taken it away again; and Mithridates the Iberian, whom Gaius had summoned and imprisoned, was sent home again to resume his throne. To another Mithridates, a lineal descendant of Mithridates the Great, he granted Bosporus, giving to Polemon some land in Cilicia in place of it. He enlarged the domain of Agrippa of Palestine, who, happening to be in Rome, had helped him to become emperor, and bestowed on him the rank of consul; and to his brother Herod he gave the rank of praetor and a principality. And he permitted them to enter the senate and to express their thanks to him in Greek.

The acts I have named, now, were the acts of Claudius himself, and they were praised by everybody; but certain other things were done at this time of quite a different nature by his freedmen and by his wife Valeria Messalina. The latter became enraged at her niece Julia because she neither paid her honour nor flattered her; and she was also jealous because

τυπήσασα ὅτι περικαλλής τε ἦν καὶ μόνη
τῷ Κλαυδίῳ πολλάκις συνεγίγνετο, ἐξώρισεν,
ἐγκλήματα αὐτῇ ἄλλα τε καὶ μοιχείας παρα-
σκευάσασα, ἐφ' ᾗ καὶ ὁ Σενέκας ὁ Ἀνναῖος[1]
ἔφυγε, καὶ ὕστερόν γε οὐ πολλῷ καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν
6 αὐτήν. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ καὶ τὰς τιμὰς αὐτὸν τὰς
ἐπινικίους ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Μαυριτανίᾳ πραχθεῖσι
δέξασθαι ἔπεισαν, οὐχ ὅτι τι κατορθώσαντα,
ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ πω ὄντα ὅτε διεπολεμήθη.
7 καίτοι καὶ τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ὅ τε Γάλβας ὁ
Σουλπίκιος Χάττους ἐκράτησε, καὶ Πούπλιος
Γαβίνιος[2] Καύχους[3] νικήσας τά τε ἄλλα εὐδο-
κίμησε καὶ ἀετὸν στρατιωτικὸν ὃς μόνος ἔτι παρ'
αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς Οὐάρου συμφορᾶς ἦν ἐκομίσατο,
ὡς καὶ ἀληθὲς ὄνομα αὐτοκράτορος ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων
σφῶν τὸν Κλαύδιον λαβεῖν.
9 Τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ οἱ αὐτοὶ αὖθις Μαῦροι
πολεμήσαντες κατεστράφησαν. Σουητώνιος[4] μὲν
γὰρ Παυλῖνος, ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων ὤν,
τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν μέχρι τοῦ Ἄτλαντος ἀντικατέ-
δραμε, Γναῖος δὲ Ὁσίδιος Γέτας ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων
μετ' ἐκεῖνον στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν Σάλαβον τὸν
στρατηγόν σφων εὐθὺς ὥρμησε, καὶ ἐνίκησεν
2 αὐτὸν καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ δεύτερον. ἐπειδή τε ἐκεῖνος,
καταλιπών τινας πρὸς τοῖς μεθορίοις εἴργειν τοὺς
ἐπιδιώξοντας, πρὸς τὰ ψαμμώδη ἀπέφυγεν,
ἐτόλμησεν ἐπισπέσθαι οἱ, καὶ ἀντικαταστήσας
πρὸς τοὺς ἐφεδρεύοντας μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ
προήει, συσκευασάμενος ὕδωρ ὅσον ἐνεδέχετο.
3 ὡς δὲ τοῦτό τε ἐπέλειπε καὶ ἄλλο οὐχ εὑρίσκετο,

[1] Ἀνναῖος Bs., ἄννιος M.

the girl was extremely beautiful and was often alone with Claudius. Accordingly, she secured her banishment by trumping up various charges against her, including that of adultery (for which Annaeus Seneca was also exiled), and not long afterward even compassed her death. The freedmen, on their part, persuaded Claudius to accept the *ornamenta triumphalia* for his exploits in Mauretania, though he had not gained any success and had not yet come to the throne when the war was finished. This same year, however, Sulpicius Galba overcame the Chatti, and Publius Gabinius conquered the Cauchi and as a crowning achievement recovered a military eagle, the only one that still remained in the hands of the enemy from Varus' disaster. Thanks to the exploits of these two men Claudius now received the well-merited title of *imperator*. A.D. 41

The next year the same Moors again made war and were subdued. Suetonius Paulinus, one of the ex-praetors, overran their country in turn as far as Mount Atlas, and after him Gnaeus Hosidius Geta, a man of the same rank, made a campaign, marching at once against their general Salabus and defeating him on two different occasions. When Salabus thereupon left a few soldiers near the frontier to hold back any pursuers and took refuge himself in the desert, Geta ventured to follow him. First stationing a part of his army opposite the detachment that was lying in wait, he pushed forward after providing himself with all the water possible. But when this began to give out and no more was to be had, he A.D. 42

[2] Γαβίνιος Bk., γαουίνιος M.
[3] Καύχους Leuncl., Μαυρυσίους M.
[4] Σουητώνιος Reim., σουητόνιος M

ἐν παντὶ κακοῦ ἐγένετο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ βάρβαροι ἄλλως τε ἐπὶ μακρότατον πρὸς τὸ δίψος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔθους ἀντέχοντες, καὶ πάντως τι ὕδωρ ἐμπειρίᾳ τῶν χωρίων ποριζόμενοι, διεγίγνοντο, τοῖς δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀδύνατον μὲν προχωρῆσαι χαλεπὸν δὲ καὶ ὑποστρέψαι ἦν.
4 ἀποροῦντα οὖν αὐτὸν ὅ τι χρὴ πρᾶξαι, ἀνέπεισέ τις τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τῶν ἐνσπόνδων ἐπῳδαῖς τέ τισι καὶ μαγγανείαις χρήσασθαι, λέγων πολλάκις σφίσιν ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου πολὺ ὕδωρ δεδόσθαι· καὶ αὐτῷ παραχρῆμα τοσοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐρρύη ὥστε καὶ τὸ δίψος ἐξακέσασθαι καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους προσκαταπλῆξαι, νομίσαντας τὸ θεῖόν
5 οἱ ἐπικουρεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ τούτου ἐθελονταί τε ὡμολόγησαν καὶ κατελύσαντο· πραχθέντων δὲ τούτων ὁ Κλαύδιος διχῇ τοὺς Μαύρους τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἔνειμεν, ἔς τε τὰ περὶ Τέγγιν καὶ ἐς τὰ περὶ Καισάρειαν, ἀφ' ὧνπερ καὶ ὀνομάζονται,
6 καὶ δύο ἄρχουσιν ἱππεῦσι προσέταξε. κἀν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ καὶ τῆς Νουμιδίας τινὰ ἐπολεμήθη τε ὑπὸ τῶν προσοίκων βαρβάρων, καὶ ἔπειτα κρατηθέντων αὐτῶν μάχαις κατέστη.

10 Ὑπάτευε δὲ ὁ Κλαύδιος μετὰ Γαΐου Λάργου, καὶ ἐκείνῳ μὲν δι' ἔτους ἄρξαι ἐφῆκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ δύο μησὶ καὶ τότε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχε. καὶ περί τε τῶν τοῦ Αὐγούστου πράξεων τούς τε ἄλλους ὥρκωσε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιστώθη (περὶ γὰρ τῶν

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[1] Mauretania Tingitana and Mauretania Caesariensis.

found himself in the direst straits. For the barbarians, on their part, could hold out a long time anyway against thirst as the result of habit, and moreover could always get at least some water by reason of their familiarity with the country, and so they managed to get along; whereas the Romans, for the opposite reasons, found it impossible to advance and difficult even to retreat. While Geta, then, was in a quandary as to what he should do, one of the natives who were at peace with the invaders persuaded him to try some incantations and enchantments, telling him that as the result of such rites abundant water had often been given to his people. No sooner had Geta followed this advice than so much rain fell from the sky as to allay the soldiers' thirst completely and at the same time to alarm the enemy, who thought that Heaven was coming to the assistance of the Roman general. Consequently they came to terms voluntarily and ended their warfare. After these events Claudius divided the subject Moors into two districts, the first embracing the region around Tingis and the other that around Caesarea, from which cities the districts are named;[1] and he appointed two knights as governors over them. At this same period certain parts of Numidia also were attacked by the neighbouring barbarians, and then, when the latter had been defeated in battle, became quiet once more. A.D. 42

Claudius was now consul with Gaius Largus. He allowed his colleague to serve for the whole year, but he himself retained the office for only two months at this time also. He made the others swear to uphold the acts of Augustus and took the oath himself, but with respect to his own acts he

ἑαυτοῦ οὐδενὶ τὸ παράπαν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ἐπέτρεψε), καὶ ἐξιὼν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὖθις ὤμοσεν
2 ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀεὶ ὁσάκις ὑπάτευσεν ἐγένετο· τότε δὲ λόγους τινὰς ἐν τῇ νουμηνίᾳ τοῦ τε Αὐγούστου καὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου κατὰ δόγμα ἀναγιγνωσκομένους, ὥστε καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἑσπέρας τοὺς βουλευτὰς παρατείνεσθαι, ἔπαυσεν, ἀρκοῦν εἶναι φήσας ἐν ταῖς στήλαις
3 αὐτοὺς ἐγγεγράφθαι. ἐπεί τέ τινες τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν τὴν διοίκησιν ἐγκεχειρισμένων αἰτίαν ἔλαβον, οὐκ ἐπεξῆλθε μέν σφισι, πιπράσκουσι δέ τινα καὶ μισθοῦσιν ἐπιφοιτήσας πάνθ' ὅσα ἐνόμιζε μὴ καλῶς γίγνεσθαι διώρθωσε· καὶ τοῦτο καὶ αὖθις
4 πολλάκις ἐποίησεν. ἀνωμάλως δὲ δὴ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀπεδείκνυντο· καὶ γὰρ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα καὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκα, διὰ μέσου τε, ὥς που καὶ συνέπεσεν, ἐγίγνοντο. τοῦτό τε οὖν περὶ τὴν διοίκησιν ἔπραξε, καὶ τρεῖς ἄνδρας τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων πράκτορας τῶν τῷ δημοσίῳ ὀφειλομένων κατέστησε, καὶ ῥαβδούχους καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὑπηρεσίαν αὐτοῖς δούς.

11 Λιμοῦ τε ἰσχυροῦ γενομένου, οὐ μόνον τῆς ἐν τῷ τότε παρόντι ἀφθονίας τῶν τροφῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐς πάντα τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα αἰῶνα πρόνοιαν
2 ἐποιήσατο. ἐπεσάκτου γὰρ παντὸς ὡς εἰπεῖν τοῦ σίτου τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὄντος, ἡ χώρα ἡ πρὸς ταῖς[1] τοῦ Τιβέριδος ἐκβολαῖς, οὔτε κατάρσεις ἀσφαλεῖς οὔτε λιμένας ἐπιτηδείους ἔχουσα, ἀνωφελές σφισι τὸ κράτος τῆς θαλάσσης ἐποίει· ἔξω τε γὰρ τῶν τῇ τε ὡραίᾳ[2] ἐσκομισθέντων καὶ

[1] ταῖς R. Steph., τοῖς M.

permitted nothing of the sort on the part of any of them; and on leaving office he again took the oath after the manner of the rest. This was always his practice every time that he was consul. He now abolished the custom, established by decree, of reading certain speeches of Augustus and Tiberius on New Year's day; for this procedure had kept the senators occupied until evening, and he declared that it was enough that the speeches were engraved on tablets. When some of the praetors who were entrusted with the financial administration incurred charges, he did not prosecute them, but visited them when they were making sales and executing leases and corrected whatever he regarded as an abuse; and he also took the same course in numerous other instances. The number of praetors appointed was not uniform; for now there would be fourteen and now eighteen, and again some number in between, just as it happened. Besides his action in the matter of the finances, he established a board of three ex-praetors to collect debts owed to the government, granting them lictors and the other customary assistants A.D. 42

On the occasion of a severe famine he considered the problem of providing an abundant food-supply, not only for that particular crisis but for all future time. For practically all the grain used by the Romans was imported, and yet the region near the mouth of the Tiber had no safe landing-places or suitable harbours, so that their mastery of the sea was rendered useless to them. Except for the cargoes brought in during the summer season

[2] ὡραίᾳ v. Herw., ὥραι M Xiph.

ἐς τὰς ἀποθήκας ἀναχθέντων οὐδὲν τὴν χειμερινὴν ἐσεφοίτα, ἀλλ' εἴ τις παρεκινδύνευσε, κακῶς
3 ἀπήλλασσε. τοῦτ' οὖν συνιδὼν λιμένα τε κατασκευάσαι ἐπεχείρησεν, οὐδ' ἀπετράπη καίπερ τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων εἰπόντων αὐτῷ, πυθομένῳ πόσον τὸ ἀνάλωμα ἔσοιτο, ὅτι "οὐ θέλεις αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι·" οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ δαπανήματος ἀναχαιτισθῆναι αὐτόν, εἰ προπύθοιτο αὐτό, ἤλπισαν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνεθυμήθη πρᾶγμα καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ τῆς Ῥώμης
4 ἄξιον καὶ ἐπετέλεσε. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐξορύξας τῆς ἠπείρου χωρίον οὐ σμικρόν, τὸ πέριξ πᾶν ἐκρηπίδωσε καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσεδέξατο· τοῦτο δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πελάγει χώματα ἑκατέρωθεν αὐτοῦ μεγάλα χώσας θάλασσαν ἐνταῦθα πολλὴν περιέβαλε, καὶ νῆσον ἐν[1] αὐτῇ πύργον τε ἐπ'
5 ἐκείνῃ φρυκτωρίαν ἔχοντα κατεστήσατο. ὁ μὲν οὖν λιμὴν ὁ καὶ νῦν οὕτω κατά γε τὸ ἐπιχώριον ὀνομαζόμενος ὑπ' ἐκείνου τότε ἐποιήθη·[2] τὴν δὲ δὴ λίμνην τὴν Φουκίνην τὴν τῶν Μαρσῶν ἠθέλησε μὲν ἐς τὸν Λῖριν ἐξαγαγεῖν, ὅπως ἥ τε χώρα ἡ περὶ αὐτὴν γεωργῆται καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ναυσίπορος μᾶλλον γένηται, μάτην δὲ δὴ ἐδαπανήθη.

6 Ἐνομοθέτησε μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα τινά, ὧν οὐδεμία μοι ἄλλως[3] ἀνάγκη μνημονεῦσαί ἐστι, κατέδειξε δὲ καὶ τάδε, τούς τε κληρωτοὺς ἄρχοντας πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀπριλίου νουμηνίας, ἐπειδήπερ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἐνεχρόνιζον,

[1] ἐν Bk., ἐπ' M Xiph.
[2] τότε ἐποιήθη Bk., τε ἐποιήθη M.
[3] ἄλλως Bk., ἄλλη M.

and stored in warehouses, they had no supplies for the winter; for if any one ever risked a voyage at that season, he was sure to meet with disaster. In view of this situation, Claudius undertook to construct a harbour, and would not be deterred even when the architects, upon his enquiring how great the cost would be, answered, "You don't want to do it!" so confident were they that the huge expenditures necessary would shake him from his purpose, if he should learn the cost beforehand. He, however, conceived an undertaking worthy of the dignity and greatness of Rome, and he brought it to accomplishment. In the first place, he excavated a very considerable tract of land, built retaining walls on every side of the excavation, and then let the sea into it; secondly, in the sea itself he constructed huge moles on both sides of the entrance and thus enclosed a large body of water, in the midst of which he reared an island and placed on it a tower with a beacon light. This harbour, then, as it is still called in local parlance,[1] was created by him at this time. He furthermore desired to make an outlet into the Liris for the Fucine Lake in the Marsian country, in order not only that the land around it might be tilled but also that the river might be made more navigable. But the money was expended in vain. A.D. 42

He introduced a number of laws, most of which I need not mention; but I will record the following. The governors who were chosen by lot were to set out before the first day of April; for they had been in the habit of tarrying a long time in the city.

[1] Portus Romanus, Portus Augusti, or simply Portus.

ἀφορμᾶσθαι, καὶ τοὺς αἱρετοὺς μηδεμίαν οἱ χάριν
7 ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ γιγνώσκειν, ὅπερ κατά τι ἔθος
ἐποίουν, εἰπὼν ὅτι "οὐχ οὗτοι ἐμοὶ χάριν ἔχειν
ὀφείλουσιν ὥσπερ ἐσπουδαρχηκότες, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ
τούτοις ὅτι μοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν προθύμως συνδια-
φέρουσι· καὶ ἄν γε καὶ καλῶς ἄρξωσι, πολὺ
8 μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἐπαινέσω." τοῖς μὲν οὖν ὑπ'
ἀσθενείας βίου μὴ δυναμένοις βουλεύειν ἐφίει
παρίεσθαι, ἔκ τε τῶν ἱππέων τινὰς ἐς τὰς
δημαρχίας ἐσεδέχετο· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους καὶ πάνυ
πάντας ἐπηνάγκαζεν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὁσάκις
ἂν ἐπαγγελθῇ σφισι, συμφοιτᾶν. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν
τούτῳ οὕτως ἰσχυρῶς τοῖς μὴ πειθαρχοῦσιν
12 ἐπετίμα ὥστε τινὰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀναχρήσασθαι, ἐς
δὲ δὴ τὰ ἄλλα κοινὸς καὶ ἐπιεικὴς πρὸς αὐτοὺς
ἦν, κάμνοντάς τε ἐπεσκέπτετο, καὶ ἑορτάζουσί
2 σφισι συνεγίγνετο. δημάρχου τέ τινος πληγὰς
δούλῳ αὐτοῦ[1] δημοσίᾳ δόντος αὐτὸν μὲν οὐδὲν
κακὸν εἰργάσατο, τοὺς δ' ὑπηρέτας αὐτοῦ
ἀφελόμενος ἔπειτα καὶ ἐκείνους οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον
ἀπέδωκε. δοῦλόν τε ἕτερον αὐτοῦ, ὅτι τινὰ τῶν
ἐπιφανῶν ὕβρισεν, ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν πέμψας
3 ἀπεμαστίγωσε. κἂν[2] τῷ συνεδρίῳ αὐτὸς μὲν
ἐξανίστατο, εἴ ποτε ἐπὶ πολὺ οἱ ἄλλοι εἰστή-
κεσαν·[3] καθήμενος γάρ, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ὑπὸ τῆς
ἀρρωστίας πολλάκις ἀνεγίγνωσκέ τινα αἰτού-
μενος· Λουκίῳ δὲ δὴ Σύλλᾳ καὶ ἐς τὸ τῶν
στρατηγῶν βάθρον, ὅτι μὴ δυνηθείς ποτε ὑπὸ
γήρως ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἕδρας ἐπακοῦσαί τινα

[1] αὐτοῦ M, αὑτοῦ cod. Peir.
[2] κἂν Leuncl. (καὶ ἐν), καὶ M cod. Peir.

And he would not permit those who were directly appointed to express any thanks to him in the senate, as it was their custom to do, for he declared: "These men ought not to thank me, as if they had been seeking office, but I should rather thank them, because they cheerfully help me to bear the burden of government; and if they acquit themselves well in office, I shall praise them much more still." Those who by reason of insufficient means were unable to be senators he permitted to resign, and he admitted some of the knights to the tribuneship; all the rest without exception he compelled to appear in the senate-chamber as often as notice should be given them. And he was so severe against those who were remiss in this regard that some killed themselves. In other respects, however, he was sociable and considerate in his dealings with them; he would visit them in sickness and would share in their festivities. When a tribune beat a slave of the emperor in public, Claudius did the offender no harm, merely depriving him of his attendants, and these he restored not long afterward. He sent another of his slaves to the Forum and caused him to be severely flogged because he had insulted a prominent man. In the senate the emperor would rise himself in case the others had been standing a long time; for by reason of his ill health he frequently remained seated, as I have related,[1] and read his advice, if asked for it. He even permitted Lucius Sulla to sit on the praetors' bench because this man, being unable at one time by reason of his age to A.D. 42

[1] In chap. 2, 2.

[3] εἱστήκεσαν St., ἑστήκεσαν M cod. Peir.

4 ἀνέστη, καθίζεσθαι ἐπέτρεψεν. ἔν τε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
ἐν ᾗ αὐτοκράτωρ τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει ἀπεδείχθη,
αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον ἔπραξε, πλὴν ὅτι τοῖς
δορυφόροις πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δραχμὰς ἔδωκε, καὶ
τοῦτο ἔπειτα κατ' ἔτος ἐποίησε· τῶν μέντοι
στρατηγῶν τινες ἐθελονταὶ καὶ ἀπ' οὐδενὸς
ψηφίσματος ἐκείνην τε τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὰ
γενέθλια τὰ τῆς Μεσσαλίνης δημοσίᾳ ἐτίμων.
5 οὐ γάρ που καὶ πάντες αὐτὰ ἐποίουν, ἀλλ' ὅσοι
ἐβούλοντο· τοσαύτην ἄδειαν εἶχον. οὕτω τε ὡς
ἀληθῶς ἐς πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐμετρίαζεν ὥστε
γεννηθέντος αὐτῷ υἱέως, ὃς τότε μὲν Κλαύδιος
Τιβέριος Γερμανικὸς ὕστερον δὲ καὶ Βρεττανικὸς
ἐπωνομάσθη, οὔτ' ἄλλο τι ἐπιφανὲς ἔπραξεν
οὔτ' Αὔγουστον αὐτὸν ἢ τήν γε Μεσσαλῖναν
Αὔγουσταν ἐπικληθῆναι ἐφῆκεν.

13 Ἐτίθει μὲν οὖν συνεχῶς μονομαχίας ἀγῶνας·
πάνυ γάρ σφισιν ἔχαιρεν, ὥστε καὶ αἰτίαν ἐπὶ
τούτῳ σχεῖν· ἀπώλλυντο δὲ θηρία μὲν ἐλάχιστα
ἄνθρωποι δὲ πολλοί, οἱ μὲν ἀλλήλοις μαχόμενοι
2 οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀναλούμενοι. τοὺς γὰρ
δούλους τούς τ'[1] ἀπελευθέρους τοὺς ἐπί τε τοῦ
Τιβερίου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαΐου τοῖς δεσπόταις σφῶν
ἐπιβουλεύσαντας, τούς τε τὴν ἄλλως συκοφαντή-
σαντάς τινας ἢ καὶ καταψευδομαρτυρήσαντάς
τινων, δεινῶς ἐμίσει, καὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν πλείους
οὕτως ἀνήλισκε, τοὺς δὲ ἕτερόν τινα τρόπον
ἐκόλαζε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τοῖς δεσπόταις αὐτοῖς
3 ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ παρεδίδου. τοσοῦτον δ' οὖν τὸ
πλῆθος τῶν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ θνησκόντων ἐγίγνετο
ὥστε καὶ τὸν τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἀνδριάντα τὸν ἐν τῷ

[1] τ' supplied by Oddey.

hear something from his regular seat, had stood up. A.D. 42
On the first anniversary of the day on which he had been declared emperor he did nothing out of the ordinary, except to give the Pretorians a hundred sesterces, a thing that he did every year thereafter. Some of the praetors, however, of their own free will and not because of any decree, publicly celebrated not only that day but also the birthday of Messalina. Not all of them did this, but only such as saw fit; so great freedom of action did they enjoy. Indeed, Claudius showed so great moderation in all such matters that when a son was born to him (called at that time Claudius Tiberius Germanicus, but later also Britannicus), he did not make the occasion in any way conspicuous and would permit neither the title of Augustus to be given to the boy nor that of Augusta to Messalina.

He was constantly giving gladiatorial contests; for he took great pleasure in them, so that he even aroused criticism on this score. Very few wild beasts perished, but a great many human beings did, some of them fighting with one another and others being devoured by the animals. For the emperor cordially detested the slaves and freedmen who in the reigns of Tiberius and Gaius had conspired against their masters, as well as those who had laid information against others without cause or had borne false witness against them, and he accordingly got rid of most of them in the manner related, though he punished some in another way, and handed many over to their masters themselves for punishment. So great, indeed, was the number becoming of those who were publicly executed, that the statue of Augustus which stood on the spot was

χωρίῳ ἐκείνῳ ἱδρυμένον ἑτέρωσέ ποι μετενεχθῆναι
τοῦ δὴ μήτε ἐφορᾶν αὐτὸν τοὺς φόνους νομίζεσθαι
μήτε ἀεὶ κατακαλύπτεσθαι. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τούτῳ
γέλωτα ὠφλίσκανεν, εἰ δὴ ὅσα μηδὲ[1] τὸν χαλκὸν
τὸν ἀναίσθητον δοκεῖν ὁρᾶν ἠξίου, τούτων αὐτὸς
4 διεπίμπλατο· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς διὰ μέσου
τῆς θέας παρὰ τὸν τοῦ ἀρίστου καιρὸν κατακοπτο-
μένους ἥδιστα ἐθεώρει, καίτοι λέοντα δεδιδαγμένον
ἀνθρώπους ἐσθίειν καὶ πάνυ γε διὰ τοῦτο τῷ
πλήθει ἀρέσκοντα ἀποκτείνας ὡς οὐ προσῆκον ὂν
5 τοιοῦτό τι θέαμα ὁρᾶν Ῥωμαίους· ὅτι δὲ δή σφισι
κοινῶς τε ἐν τῇ θέᾳ συνῆν καὶ παρεῖχεν ὅσα
ἐβούλοντο, καὶ κήρυξι μὲν ἐλάχιστα ἐχρῆτο, τὰ
δὲ δὴ πλείω ἐς σανίδας γράφων διεδήλου, σφόδρα
ἐπῃνεῖτο.

14 Ἐθισθεὶς δ' οὖν αἵματος καὶ φόνων ἀναπίμ-
πλασθαι προπετέστερον καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις
σφαγαῖς ἐχρήσατο. αἴτιοι δὲ τούτου οἵ τε
Καισάρειοι[2] καὶ ἡ Μεσσαλῖνα ἐγένοντο· ὁπότε
γὰρ ἀποκτεῖναί τινα ἐθελήσειαν, ἐξεφόβουν αὐτόν,
κἀκ τούτου πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλοντο ποιεῖν ἐπετρέ-
2 ποντο. καὶ πολλάκις γε[3] ἐξαπιναίως ἐκπλαγεὶς
καὶ κελεύσας τινὰ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα περιδεοῦς
ἀπολέσθαι, ἔπειτα ἀνενεγκὼν καὶ ἀναφρονήσας
ἐπεζήτει τε αὐτόν, καὶ μαθὼν τὸ γεγονὸς ἐλυπεῖτό
τε καὶ μετεγίγνωσκεν. ἤρξατο δὲ τῶν φόνων
3 τούτων ἀπὸ Γαΐου Ἀππίου Σιλανοῦ. τοῦτον γὰρ
εὐγενέστατόν τε ὄντα καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας τότε
ἄρχοντα μεταπεμψάμενος ὥς τι αὐτοῦ δεόμενος,
καὶ τήν τε μητέρα οἱ τὴν τῆς Μεσσαλίνης

[1] μηδὲ cod. Peir., om. M.
[2] Καισάρειοι cod. Peir., καισάριοι M. [3] γε Xiph., τε M.

taken elsewhere, so that it should not either seem to be witnessing the bloodshed or else be always covered up. By this action Claudius brought ridicule upon himself, as he was gorging himself upon the very sights that he did not think it fitting for even the inanimate bronze to seem to behold. He used to delight especially in watching those who were cut down during the intermission in the spectacle at lunch time; and yet he had put to death a lion that had been trained to eat men and therefore greatly pleased the crowd, claiming that it was not fitting for Romans to gaze on such a sight. But for certain acts he was loudly praised—for mingling freely with the people at the spectacles, for providing them with all they wanted, and also because he made very little use of heralds but instead announced most events by means of notices written on boards. A.D. 42

After he had become accustomed, then, to feast his fill on blood and carnage, he had recourse more readily to other kinds of murder. The imperial freedmen and Messalina were responsible for this; for whenever they desired to obtain any one's death, they would terrify Claudius and as a result would be allowed to do everything they chose. Often, when in a moment of sudden alarm his immediate terror had led him to order some one's death, he afterwards, when he recovered and came to his senses, would search for the man and on learning what had happened would be grieved and repentant. He began this series of murders with Gaius Appius Silanus. He had sent for this man, who was of very noble family, and governor of Spain at the time, pretending that he required a service of him, had married him to Messalina's mother, and had for some time held

συνοικίσας, καὶ αὐτὸν ἔν τε τοῖς φιλτάτοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς συγγενεστάτοις χρόνον τινὰ τιμήσας, ἔπειτ' ἐξαίφνης ἔσφαξεν, ὅτι τῇ τε Μεσσαλίνῃ προσέκρουσεν οὐκ ἐθελήσας αὐτῇ συγγενέσθαι πορνικωτάτῃ τε καὶ ἀσελγεστάτῃ οὔσῃ, καὶ τῷ Ναρκίσσῳ τῷ ἀπελευθέρῳ αὐτοῦ δι' ἐκείνην.
4 καὶ οὐ γὰρ εἶχον οὔτ' ἀληθὲς οὔτε πιθανόν τι κατ' αὐτοῦ εἰπεῖν, συνέπλασεν ὄναρ ὁ Νάρκισσος ὡς σφαττόμενον τὸν Κλαύδιον ὑπὸ τοῦ Σιλανοῦ αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἰδών, καὶ αὐτός τε εὐθὺς ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω ἐν τῇ εὐνῇ οἱ ἔτ' ὄντι ὑπότρομος διηγήσατο, καὶ ἡ Μεσσαλῖνα παραλαβοῦσα ἐδείνωσε.

15 Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐξ ἐνυπνίου παραπώλετο, τελευτήσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ οὐκέτι χρηστὴν ἐλπίδα οἱ[1] Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦ Κλαυδίου ἔσχον, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς αὐτῷ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἄννιος Οὐινικιανὸς[2] ἐπεβούλευσεν. οὗτός τε γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Γαΐου θάνατον προβληθέντων ἦν, καί τι καὶ ἐκ τούτου δεδιὼς
2 ἐνεωτέρισεν· ἐπειδή τε οὐδεμίαν ἰσχὺν ἐκέκτητο, ἔπεμψε πρὸς Φούριον[3] Κάμιλλον Σκριβωνιανὸν τῆς τε Δελματίας ἄρχοντα καὶ δύναμιν συχνὴν πολιτικὴν[4] καὶ ξενικὴν ἔχοντα, καὶ προσανέπεισεν αὐτὸν καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν διανοούμενον ἐπαναστῆναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι ἐπίδοξος
3 αὐταρχήσειν ἐγεγόνει. πράξαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦτο συχνοὶ μὲν καὶ βουλευταὶ καὶ ἱππῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὥρμησαν . . .[5] οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται, τοῦ Καμίλλου τό τε τοῦ δήμου σφίσιν ὄνομα

[1] *οἱ* Xiph. Zon., om. M.
[2] Οὐινικιανὸς Xyl., *οὐνικιανὸς* M (but *οὐινικιανὸς* § 5) Xiph., *βινικιανὸς* Zon.

him in honour among those nearest and dearest to him. Then he suddenly killed him. The reason was that Silanus had offended Messalina, the most abandoned and lustful of women, in refusing to lie with her, and by this slight shown to her had alienated Narcissus, the emperor's freedman. As they had no true or even plausible charge to bring against him, Narcissus invented a dream in which he declared he had seen Claudius murdered by the hand of Silanus; then at early dawn, while the emperor was still in bed, trembling all over he related to him the dream, and Messalina, taking up the matter, exaggerated its significance. A.D. 42

Thus Silanus perished because of a mere vision. After his death the Romans no longer cherished fair hopes of Claudius, and Annius Vinicianus with some others straightway formed a plot against him. Annius was one of those who had been proposed for the throne after the death of Gaius, and it was partly fear inspired by this circumstance that caused him to rebel. As he possessed no military force, however, he sent to Furius Camillus Scribonianus, the governor of Dalmatia, who had a large body of citizen and foreign troops, and enlisted his support; for Camillus was already making his own plans for an uprising, more especially because he had been spoken of for emperor. When Annius had got thus far, many senators and knights flocked to him; [but they were of no avail], for the soldiers, when Camillus held out to them the hope of seeing the

[3] *Φούριον* R. Steph., *φρούριον* M Xiph. Zon.

[4] *πολιτικὴν* supplied by Xyl.

[5] Lacuna recognized by Xyl., *τούτων δ' οὐκ ἀπώνατο* supplied by Oddey.

προτείνοντος καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐλευθερίαν ἀποδώσειν ὑπισχνουμένου, ὑπώπτευσαν πράγματα αὖθις καὶ στάσεις ἕξειν, καὶ οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ ἐπείσθησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τούτου φοβηθεὶς σφας ἔφυγε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἴσσαν τὴν νῆσον ἐλθὼν
4 ἐνταῦθα ἑκούσιος ἀπέθανε· Κλαύδιος δὲ τέως μὲν πάνυ κατέδεισεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐθελοντὴς ἑτοίμως ἔχειν τοῦ κράτους αὐτῷ ἐκστῆναι, τότε δὲ ἀναθαρσήσας τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας ἄλλοις τέ τισιν ἠμείψατο καὶ τῷ τὰ πολιτικὰ αὐτῶν στρατόπεδα, τό τε ἕβδομον καὶ τὸ ἑνδέκατον, καὶ Κλαυδίεια καὶ πιστὰ καὶ εὐσεβῆ καὶ πρὸς τῆς βουλῆς ἐπονομασθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ συνεπιβουλεύσαντας αὐτῷ ἀνεζήτησε, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἄλλους τε καὶ στρατηγόν τινα, προαπειπόντα
5 τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀπέκτεινε. συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ ἑαυτούς, ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Οὐινικιανός, κατεχρήσαντο. τῆς γὰρ ἀφορμῆς ταύτης ἥ τε[1] Μεσσαλῖνα καὶ ὁ Νάρκισσος, ὅσοι τε συνεξελεύθεροι αὐτοῦ, λαβόμενοι οὐδὲν ὅ τι τῶν δεινοτάτων οὐκ ἐποίησαν. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς δούλοις τοῖς τε ἀπελευθέροις μηνυταῖς κατὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν
6 αὐτῶν ἐχρῶντο. καὶ[2] τούτους τε καὶ ἑτέρους καὶ πάνυ εὐγενεῖς, οὐχ ὅτι ξένους ἀλλὰ καὶ πολίτας, οὐχ ὅτι δημότας ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν τε βουλευτῶν τινας, ἐβασάνιζον, καίτοι τοῦ Κλαυδίου κατ' ἀρχὰς εὐθὺς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὀμόσαντος μηδένα βασανιεῖν ἐλεύθερον.
16 ἄνδρες τε οὖν ἐν τούτῳ πολλοὶ καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ γε εἰσὶν αἳ τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ, ἐκολάσθησαν. μέλλουσαί τε ἀποθνήσκειν ἐπὶ βῆμα καὶ αὐταὶ ἀνήγοντο δεδεμέναι ὥσπερ αἰχμάλωτοι, καὶ τὰ

republic restored and promised to give back to them their ancient freedom, suspected that they should have trouble and strife once more, and would therefore no longer listen to him. At this he became frightened and fled from them, and coming to the island of Issa he there took his life. Claudius for a time had been in great terror, and had been ready to abdicate his power voluntarily in Camillus' favour; but he now recovered courage. He first rewarded the soldiers in various ways, especially by causing the legions composed of citizens (the seventh and the eleventh) to be named Claudian and Loyal and Patriotic by the senate. Then he sought out those who had plotted against him, and on this charge put many to death, among others a praetor, who first was made to resign his office. Several, indeed, including Vinicianus, committed suicide. For Messalina and Narcissus and all the latter's fellow-freedmen seized this opportunity to wreak their direst vengeance. They employed slaves and freedmen, for instance, as informers against their own masters. These masters and others of the highest birth, foreigners and citizens alike, and not only plebeians, but some of the knights and senators as well, were put to the torture, in spite of the fact that Claudius at the very beginning of his reign had sworn not to torture any freeman. Many men, therefore, and women, too, were executed at this time, some of the latter even meeting their fate in the very prison itself. And when they were to die, the women, too, were led in chains upon a scaffold, A.D. 42

[1] τε Bk., γε M.
[2] καὶ supplied by Bk.

*σώματα καὶ ἐκείνων ἐς τοὺς ἀναβασμοὺς
ἐρριπτεῖτο· τῶν γὰρ ἔξω που θανατωθέντων αἱ
2 κεφαλαὶ μόναι ἐνταῦθα προετίθεντο. ἤδη δ' οὖν
τινες καὶ τῶν πάνυ ὑπαιτίων, οἱ μὲν χάρισιν οἱ
δὲ καὶ χρήμασιν, ὑπό τε τῆς Μεσσαλίνης καὶ
ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Νάρκισσον Καισαρείων*[1]
*περιεγένοντο. καὶ οἵ γε παῖδες τῶν ἀπολλυμένων
τὴν μὲν ἄδειαν πάντες, εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ χρήματα
3 ἐλάμβανον. ἐκρίνοντο δὲ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ, τοῦ τε
Κλαυδίου καὶ τῶν ἐπάρχων τῶν τε ἐξελευθέρων
αὐτοῦ παρόντων· τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐσήγησιν ἐν μέσῳ
τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπὶ δίφρου ἀρχικοῦ ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ βάθρου
καθήμενος ἐποιεῖτο, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο αὐτός τε ἐπὶ
τὴν συνήθη ἕδραν μετήρχετο, καὶ ἐκείνοις οἱ
δίφροι ἐτίθεντο.*

4 *Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν
μεγίστων ὁμοίως ἐγίγνετο· τότε δὲ Γάλαισός τις
ἀπελεύθερος τοῦ Καμίλλου πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα
ἐσαχθεὶς ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐπαρρησιάσατο, ἓν
5 δὲ δὴ καὶ τόδε μνήμης ἄξιον. τοῦ γὰρ Ναρκίσσου
παρελθόντος ἐς τὸ μέσον καὶ εἰπόντος αὐτῷ "τί
ἂν ἐποίησας, Γάλαισε, εἰ Κάμιλλος ἐμεμοναρχή-
κει;" ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι "εἱστήκειν*[2] *ἂν ὄπισθεν
αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσιώπων." αὐτός τε οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ
καὶ Ἀρρία αὖ ἐφ' ἑτέρῳ ὀνομαστοὶ ἐγένοντο.
6 αὕτη γὰρ γυνὴ Καικίνου Παίτου*[3] *οὖσα οὔτ'
ἠθέλησε θανατωθέντος αὐτοῦ ζῆσαι, καίπερ καὶ
ἐν τιμῇ τινι εἶναι δυναμένη (τῇ γὰρ Μεσσαλίνῃ
σφόδρα ᾠκείωτο), καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα
ἀποδειλιῶντα ἐπέρρωσε· τὸ γὰρ ξίφος λαβοῦσα*

[1] Καισαρείων R. Steph., *καισαρίων* M.

like captives, and their bodies, also, were thrown out upon the Stairway; for in the case of those who were executed anywhere outside the city, only the heads were exhibited there. Some of the most guilty, nevertheless, by means of favours or bribes saved their lives with the help of Messalina and the imperial freedmen in the following of Narcissus. All the sons of those who were put to death were granted immunity and some also received money. The accused were tried in the senate in the presence of Claudius, the prefects and the freedmen. He would read the charge seated between the consuls on a chair of state or on a bench; then he would go to his accustomed seat and chairs would be placed for the consuls. This same procedure was followed on other occasions of great importance. A.D. 42

It was at this time that Galaesus, a freedman of Camillus, upon being brought before the senate, indulged in great freedom of speech generally, and made one remark in particular that is worth reporting. Narcissus had taken the floor and said to him: "What would you have done, Galaesus, if Camillus had become emperor?" He replied: "I would have stood behind him and kept my mouth shut." So he became famous for this remark, as did Arria for another. This woman, who was the wife of Caecina Paetus, refused to live after he had been put to death, although, being on very intimate terms with Messalina, she might have occupied a position of some honour. Moreover, when her husband displayed cowardice, she strengthened his resolution; for she took the sword and wounded herself, then

[2] εἱστήκειν Zon., ἑστήκειν M exc. Vat.

[3] Παίτου Cataneus, ὑπάτου M Zon.

ἑαυτήν τε ἔτρωσε, καὶ ἐκείνῳ ὤρεξεν εἰποῦσα
7 "ἰδού, Παῖτε,[1] οὐκ ἀλγῶ." καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπῃνοῦντο· ἤδη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς συνεχείας τῶν κακῶν ἐς τοῦτο τὰ πράγματα προεληλύθει ὥστ' ἀρετὴν μηκέτ' ἄλλο μηδὲν ἢ τὸ γενναίως ἀποθανεῖν νομίζεσθαι· Κλαύδιος δὲ οὕτω που πρὸς τὴν τιμωρίαν τήν τε ἐκείνων καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἔσχεν ὥστε καὶ σύνθημα τοῖς στρατιώταις τὸ ἔπος τοῦτο συνεχῶς διδόναι, τὸ ὅτι χρὴ "ἄνδρα ἀπαμύνασθαι[2] ὅτε τις
8 πρότερος χαλεπήνῃ." καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους καὶ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν τοιουτότροπα ἑλληνιστὶ παρεφθέγγετο, ὥστε καὶ γέλωτα παρὰ τοῖς δυναμένοις ἔστιν ἃ αὐτῶν συνεῖναι ὀφλισκάνειν. τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτά τε ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι τελευτήσαντός σφων ἑνὸς αὐτοὶ τὴν γερουσίαν ἐς τὸ τὸν δημαρχήσοντα ἀντικαταστῆσαι, καίτοι τῶν ὑπάτων παρόντων, ἤθροισαν.

17 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Κλαύδιος ὑπατεύσας αὖθις τὸ τρίτον πολλὰς μὲν θυσίας πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἱερομηνίας ἔπαυσε· τό τε γὰρ πλεῖστον τοῦ ἔτους ἐς αὐτὰς ἀνηλίσκετο, καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ ζημία οὐκ
2 ἐλαχίστη ἐγίγνετο. ταύτας τε οὖν συνέτεμε, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐνεδέχετο συνέστειλε. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαΐου μήτε ἐν δίκῃ μήτε ἐν λόγῳ τινὶ δοθέντα τισὶν ἀπῄτησε, τοῖς δὲ ὁδοποιοῖς ἀπέδωκεν ὅσα ἐπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸν Κορβούλωνα ἐζη-
3 μίωντο. πρὸς δ' ἔτι τοῖς ἄρχουσι τοῖς κληρωτοῖς, βραδέως ἔτι καὶ τότε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξορμωμένοις, προεῖπε πρὶν μεσοῦν τὸν Ἀπρίλιον ἀπαίρειν.

[1] Παῖτε Perizonius, παῖε M Zon.
[2] ἀπαμύνασθαι Xiph. Zon. exc. Vat., ἀπαμύνεσθαι M.

handed it to him, saying: "See, Paetus, I feel no pain." These two persons, then, were accorded praise; for by reason of the long succession of woes matters had now come to such a pass, that excellence no longer meant anything else than dying nobly. But as for Claudius, he was so intent upon punishing those mentioned and others that he constantly gave to the soldiers as a watchword that verse about its being necessary "to avenge yourself upon one who first has injured you."[1] He kept throwing out many other hints of that sort in Greek both to them and to the senate, with the result that those who could understand any of them laughed at him. These were some of the events of that period. Also the tribunes upon the death of one of their number convened the senate themselves for the purpose of appointing his successor, even though the consuls were at hand. A.D. 42

When Claudius now became consul again, for the third time, he abolished many days of thanksgiving and many holidays. For the greater part of the year was being given up to them, with no small detriment to the public business. Besides thus curtailing the holidays, he retrenched in all other ways that he could. What had been given away by Gaius without any justice or reason he demanded back from the recipients; but he gave back to the highway commissioners the amount of the fines they had paid in the reign of Gaius at the instigation of Corbulo. Moreover, he gave notice to the governors chosen by the lot, since they were slow even now about leaving the city, that they must begin their journey before the middle of April. He reduced A.D. 43

[1] Hom. *Il.* 24, 369; *Odys.* 16, 72; 21, 133.

τούς τε Λυκίους στασιάσαντας, ὥστε καὶ Ῥωμαίους τινὰς ἀποκτεῖναι, ἐδουλώσατό τε καὶ ἐς
4 τὸν τῆς Παμφυλίας νομὸν ἐσέγραψεν. ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ διαγνώσει ταύτῃ (ἐποιεῖτο δὲ αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ) ἐπύθετο τῇ Λατίνων γλώσσῃ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν τινος, Λυκίου μὲν τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντος Ῥωμαίου δὲ γεγονότος· καὶ αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ συνῆκε τὸ λεχθέν, τὴν πολιτείαν ἀφείλετο, εἰπὼν μὴ δεῖν Ῥωμαῖον εἶναι τὸν μὴ καὶ τὴν διάλεξίν
5 σφων ἐπιστάμενον. συχνοὺς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἄλλους καὶ ἀναξίους[1] τῆς πολιτείας ἀπήλασε, καὶ ἑτέροις αὐτὴν καὶ πάνυ ἀνέδην,[2] τοῖς μὲν κατ' ἄνδρα τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἀθρόοις, ἐδίδου. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν πᾶσιν ὡς εἰπεῖν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν ξένων προετετίμηντο, πολλοὶ αὐτὴν παρά τε αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου ᾐτοῦντο καὶ παρὰ τῆς Μεσσαλίνης τῶν τε Καισαρείων[3]
6 ὠνοῦντο· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μεγάλων τὸ πρῶτον χρημάτων πραθεῖσα, ἔπειθ' οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆς εὐχερείας ἐπευωνίσθη ὥστε καὶ λογοποιηθῆναι ὅτι κἂν ὑάλινά[4] τις σκεύη συντετριμμένα δῷ τινι
7 πολίτης ἔσται. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τούτῳ διεσκώπτετο, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνῳ ἐπῃνεῖτο ὅτι πολλῶν συκοφαντουμένων, τῶν μὲν ὅτι τῇ τοῦ Κλαυδίου προσρήσει οὐκ ἐχρῶντο, τῶν δὲ ὅτι μηδὲν αὐτῷ τελευτῶντες

[1] van Herwerden proposes ⟨ὡς⟩ καὶ ἀναξίους ("on the ground that they were unworthy").
[2] ἀνέδην Leuncl., ἀναίδην M.
[3] Καισαρείων R. Steph., καισαρίων M.
[4] ὑάλινά Xiph., ὑάλιά M.

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[1] See critical note.

the Lycians to servitude because they had revolted A.D. 43
and slain some Romans, and he incorporated them in the prefecture of Pamphylia. During the investigation of this affair, which was conducted in the senate, he put a question in Latin to one of the envoys who had originally been a Lycian, but had been made a Roman citizen; and when the man failed to understand what was said, he took away his citizenship, saying that it was not proper for a man to be a Roman who had no knowledge of the Romans' language. A great many other persons unworthy[1] of citizenship were also deprived of it, whereas he granted citizenship to others quite indiscriminately, sometimes to individuals and sometimes to whole groups. For inasmuch as Romans had the advantage over foreigners in practically all respects, many sought the franchise by personal application to the emperor, and many bought it from Messalina and the imperial freedmen. For this reason, though the privilege was at first sold only for large sums, it later became so cheapened by the facility with which it could be obtained that it came to be a common saying, that a man could become a citizen by giving the right person some bits of broken glass. For his course in this matter, therefore, Claudius brought ridicule upon himself; but he was praised for his conduct in another direction. It seems that information was being laid against many of the new citizens, in some instances to the effect that they were not adopting Claudius' name,[2] and in others that they were not leaving him anything at

[2] That is, they were not adding the name Claudius or Claudianus to their original names, after the manner of manumitted slaves.

κατέλειπον,[1] ὡς καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ὂν τοῖς τῆς πολιτείας παρ' αὐτοῦ τυχοῦσιν ἑκάτερον[2] ποιεῖν,
8 ἀπηγόρευσε μηδένα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εὐθύνεσθαι. ἡ δ' οὖν Μεσσαλῖνα οἵ τε ἀπελεύθεροι αὐτοῦ οὕτως οὐ τὴν πολιτείαν μόνον οὐδὲ τὰς στρατείας καὶ τὰς ἐπιτροπείας τάς τε ἡγεμονίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τἆλλα πάντα ἀφειδῶς ἐπώλουν καὶ ἐκαπήλευον ὥστε σπανίσαι πάντα τὰ ὤνια, κἀκ τούτου καὶ τὸν Κλαύδιον ἀναγκασθῆναι ἔς τε τὸ Ἄρειον πεδίον συναγαγεῖν τὸ πλῆθος, κἀνταῦθα ἀπὸ
9 βήματος τὰς τιμὰς αὐτῶν διατάξαι. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὁπλομαχίας ἀγῶνα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, χλαμύδα ἐνδύς, ἔθηκε· τὰ δὲ δὴ γενέθλια τὰ τοῦ υἱέος αὐτοῦ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐθελονταὶ θέας τέ τινος ποιήσει καὶ δείπνων ἑώρτασαν. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ αὖθις, ὅσοις γε καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτῶν, ἐπράχθη.

18 Μεσσαλῖνα δὲ ἐν τούτῳ αὐτή τε ἠσέλγαινε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας γυναῖκας ἀκολασταίνειν ὁμοίως ἠνάγκαζε, καὶ πολλάς γε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ παλατίῳ, τῶν ἀνδρῶν παρόντων καὶ ὁρώντων, μοιχεύεσθαι
2 ἐποίει. καὶ ἐκείνους μὲν καὶ ἐφίλει καὶ ἠγάπα, τιμαῖς τε καὶ ἀρχαῖς ἤγαλλε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους τοὺς μὴ συγκαθιέντας σφᾶς ἐς τοῦτο καὶ ἐμίσει καὶ πάντα τρόπον[3] ἀπώλλυε. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι τοιαῦτά τε ὄντα καὶ ἀναφανδὸν οὕτω γιγνόμενα
3 τὸν Κλαύδιον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἔλαθεν· ἐκείνῳ τε γὰρ θεραπαινίδιά[4] τινα συμπαρακατέκλινε, καὶ

[1] κατέλειπον H. Steph., κατέλιπον M.
[2] After ἑκάτερον a leaf is lost from M. Its place is taken by L′ (see Introd., Vol. I., p. xxv).
[3] πάντα τρόπον Xiph., om. L′.
[4] θεραπαινίδιά Xiph., θεραπαινίδα L′, θεραπαινίδι cod. Peir.

their death—it being incumbent, they said, upon those who obtained citizenship from him to do both these things. Claudius now forbade that any one should be called to account on these grounds. Messalina and his freedmen kept offering for sale and peddling out not merely the franchise and military commands, procuratorships, and governorships, but also everything in general, to such an extent that there was a scarcity of all wares;[1] and as a result Claudius was compelled to muster the populace in the Campus Martius, and there from a raised platform to fix the prices of the various articles. Claudius also gave a gladiatorial contest at the camp,[2] on which occasion he wore a military cloak. His son's birthday was observed by the praetors on their own initiative with a spectacle and dinners. This was also done on later occasions, at least by such of them as chose to do so. A.D. 43

In the meantime Messalina was not only exhibiting her own licentiousness but was also compelling the other women to show themselves equally unchaste. She made many of them commit adultery in the very palace itself while their husbands were present and looked on. Such men she loved and cherished and rewarded them with honours and offices; but others, who would not offer their wives for such business, she hated and brought to destruction in every possible way. These deeds, however, though of such a nature and carried on so openly, for a long time escaped the notice of Claudius; for Messalina took care of him by giving him sundry house-

[1] Because monopolies of selling them had been granted for huge sums to avaricious tradesmen.

[2] The camp of the Pretorians is meant.

τούς τι δυναμένους οἱ μηνῦσαι τοὺς μὲν εὐεργεσίαις τοὺς δὲ καὶ τιμωρίαις προκατελάμβανεν, ὥσπερ καὶ τότε καὶ Κατώνιον Ἰοῦστον τοῦ τε δορυφορικοῦ ἄρχοντα καὶ δηλῶσαί τι αὐτῷ περὶ τούτων ἐθε-
4 λήσαντα προδιέφθειρε. τήν τε Ἰουλίαν τὴν τοῦ Δρούσου μὲν τοῦ Τιβερίου παιδὸς θυγατέρα, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Νέρωνος τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ γυναῖκα γενομένην, ζηλοτυπήσασα ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν, ἀπέσφαξε. καί τις ἐν τούτῳ τῶν ἱππέων, ὡς καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσας τῷ Κλαυδίῳ, κατὰ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ὑπό τε τῶν δημάρχων καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων κατεκρημνίσθη.

19 Ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον Αὖλος Πλαύτιος βουλευτὴς λογιμώτατος ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν ἐστράτευσε· Βέρικος γάρ τις ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ τῆς νήσου κατὰ στάσιν ἔπεισε τὸν Κλαύδιον δύναμιν ἐς αὐτὴν
2 πέμψαι. καὶ οὕτως ὁ Πλαύτιος στρατηγήσας τὸ μὲν στράτευμα χαλεπῶς ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας ἐξήγαγεν· ὡς γὰρ ἔξω τῆς οἰκουμένης στρατεύσοντες ἠγανάκτουν, καὶ οὐ πρότερόν γε αὐτῷ ἐπείσθησαν πρὶν τὸν Νάρκισσον ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλαυδίου πεμφθέντα ἀναβῆναί τε ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Πλαυτίου
3 βῆμα καὶ δημηγορῆσαί τι ἐθελῆσαι· τότε γὰρ πολλῷ που μᾶλλον ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἀχθεσθέντες οὔτε τι ἐκείνῳ εἰπεῖν ἐπέτρεψαν, συμβοήσαντες ἐξαίφνης τοῦτο δὴ τὸ θρυλούμενον "ἰὼ σατουρνάλια," ἐπειδήπερ ἐν τοῖς Κρονίοις οἱ δοῦλοι τὸ τῶν δεσποτῶν σχῆμα μεταλαμβάνοντες ἑορτάζουσι, καὶ τῷ Πλαυτίῳ εὐθὺς ἑκούσιοι συνέσποντο.[1]

[1] συνέσποντο R. Steph., συνέποντο L'.

maids to lie with, and took care of those who could A.D. 43
give him any information by either showing them favours or inflicting punishment upon them. For example, she put out of the way at this time Catonius Justus, commander of the pretorian guard, before he could carry out his intention of telling the emperor something about these doings. And becoming jealous of Julia, the daughter of Drusus, Tiberius' son, and later the wife of Nero Germanicus, just as she had been jealous of the other Julia,[1] she caused her to be slain. Also at this time one of the knights, who was charged with having conspired against Claudius, was hurled down from the Capitoline by the tribunes and the consuls.

While these events were happening in the city, Aulus Plautius, a senator of great renown, made a campaign against Britain; for a certain Bericus, who had been driven out of the island as the result of an uprising, had persuaded Claudius to send a force thither. Thus it came about that Plautius undertook this campaign; but he had difficulty in inducing his army to advance beyond Gaul. For the soldiers were indignant at the thought of carrying on a campaign outside the limits of the known world, and would not yield him obedience until Narcissus, who had been sent out by Claudius, mounted the tribunal of Plautius and attempted to address them. Then they became much angrier at this and would not allow Narcissus to say a word, but suddenly shouted with one accord the well-known cry, "Io Saturnalia" (for at the festival of Saturn the slaves don their masters' dress and hold festival), and at once right willingly followed Plautius. Their delay, however, had

[1] The sister of Caligula; see chap. 8, 5.

τὴν μὲν οὖν ὁρμὴν χρονίαν διὰ ταῦτ' ἐποιήσαντο,
4 τριχῇ δὲ δὴ νεμηθέντες ὅπως μὴ καθ' ἓν περαιού-
μενοι κωλυθῶσί ποι προσσχεῖν,[1] κἀν τῷ διάπλῳ
τὸ μέν τι δυσφορήσαντες ἐπειδὴ ἐπαλινδρόμησαν,
τὸ δὲ ἀναθαρσήσαντες ὅτι λαμπὰς ἀπὸ τῶν
ἀνατολῶν ἀρθεῖσα πρὸς τὰς δυσμὰς ἧπερ ἔπλεον
διέδραμε, κατῆραν ἐς τὴν νῆσον μηδενός σφισιν
5 ἐναντιωθέντος· οἱ γὰρ Βρεττανοὶ μὴ προσδοκή-
σαντες αὐτοὺς δι' ἅπερ ἐπυνθάνοντο ἥξειν, οὐ
προσυνελέγησαν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τότε ἐς χεῖρας
αὐτοῖς ἦλθον, ἀλλ' ἔς τε τὰ ἕλη καὶ ἐς τὰς ὕλας
κατέφυγον, ἐλπίσαντές σφας ἄλλως κατατρίψειν,
ὥσθ', ὅπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ Ἰουλίου ἐγεγόνει,
διὰ κενῆς αὐτοὺς ἀναπλεῦσαι.
20 Ὁ οὖν Πλαύτιος πολλὰ μὲν πράγματα ἀναζη-
τῶν σφας ἔσχεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ εὗρέ ποτε (ἦσαν δὲ οὐκ
αὐτόνομοι ἀλλ' ἄλλοι ἄλλοις[2] βασιλεῦσι προσ-
τεταγμένοι), πρῶτον μὲν Καράτακον[3] ἔπειτα
Τογόδουμνον, Κυνοβελλίνου[4] παῖδας, ἐνίκησεν·
2 αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐτεθνήκει. φυγόντων δὲ ἐκείνων προσ-
εποιήσατο ὁμολογίᾳ μέρος τι τῶν Βοδούννων, ὧν
ἐπῆρχον Κατουελλανοὶ ὄντες, κἀνταῦθα φρουρὰν
καταλιπὼν πρόσω ᾔει. ὡς δ' ἐπὶ ποταμῷ τινι[5]
ἐγένοντο ὃν οὐκ ᾤοντο οἱ βάρβαροι δυνήσεσθαι
τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἄνευ γεφύρας διαβῆναι, καὶ διὰ
τοῦτ' ἀμελέστερόν πως ἐπὶ τῆς ὄχθης αὐτοῦ τῆς
κατ' ἀντιπέραν[6] ηὐλίζοντο, διαπέμπει[7] Κελτούς,

[1] προσσχεῖν Bk., προσχεῖν L'.
[2] ἀλλ' ἄλλοι ἄλλοις Rk., following Leuncl. (ἀλλ' ἄλλοις ἄλλοι), ἀλλ' ἄλλοις L'.
[3] Καράτακον Bs., καταράτακον L'.
[4] Κυνοβελλίνου R. Steph., κυνοβαλλίνου L'.
[5] M resumes with τινι.

made their departure late in the season. They were sent over in three divisions, in order that they should not be hindered in landing,—as might happen to a single force,—and in their voyage across they first became discouraged because they were driven back in their course, and then plucked up courage because a flash of light rising in the east shot across to the west, the direction in which they were sailing. So they put in to the island and found none to oppose them. For the Britons as a result of their inquiries had not expected that they would come, and had therefore not assembled beforehand. And even when they did assemble, they would not come to close quarters with the Romans, but took refuge in the swamps and the forests, hoping to wear out the invaders in fruitless effort, so that, just as in the days of Julius Caesar, they should sail back with nothing accomplished. A.D. 43

Plautius, accordingly, had a deal of trouble in searching them out; but when at last he did find them, he first defeated Caratacus and then Togodumnus, the sons of Cynobellinus, who was dead. (The Britons were not free and independent, but were divided into groups under various kings.) After the flight of these kings he gained by capitulation a part of the Bodunni, who were ruled by a tribe of the Catuellani; and leaving a garrison there, he advanced farther and came to a river. The barbarians thought that the Romans would not be able to cross it without a bridge, and consequently bivouacked in rather careless fashion on the opposite bank; but he sent across a detachment of Germans, who were

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[6] κατ' ἀιτιπεραν R. Steph., κατ' ἀντιπέρα M.

[7] διαπέμπει Capps, πέμπει M.

οἷς ἔθος ἦν καὶ διὰ τῶν ῥοωδεστάτων ῥᾳδίως αὐτοῖς
3 ὅπλοις διανήχεσθαι. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνοι παρὰ δόξαν τοῖς ἐναντίοις προσπεσόντες τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν οὐδένα ἔβαλλον, τοὺς δ' ἵππους τοὺς τὰ ἅρματα αὐτῶν ἄγοντας ἐτίτρωσκον, κἀκ τούτου ταραττομένων σφῶν οὐδ' οἱ ἐπιβάται ἀσφαλεῖς εἶναι ἐδύναντο, ἐπιδιέπεμψε τόν τε Οὐεσπασιανὸν τὸν Φλάουιον[1] τὸν καὶ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα μετὰ ταῦτα ἀρχὴν λαβόντα, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Σαβῖνον
4 ὑποστρατηγοῦντά οἱ· καὶ οὕτω διελθόντες πῃ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὸν ποταμὸν συχνοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ προσδεχομένους ἀπέκτειναν. οὐ μέντοι οἱ λοιποὶ ἔφυγον, ἀλλὰ τῆς ὑστεραίας αὖθις συμβαλόντες σφίσιν ἀγχώμαλα ἠγωνίσαντο, πρὶν δὴ Γναῖος[2] Ὀσίδιος Γέτας κινδυνεύσας ἁλῶναι, ἔπειθ' οὕτως αὐτῶν ἐκράτησεν ὥστε καὶ τιμὰς ἐπινικίους,
5 καίπερ οὐχ ὑπατευκώς, λαβεῖν. ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ ἐντεῦθεν τῶν Βρεττανῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ταμέσαν ποταμόν, καθ' ὃ ἔς τε τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐκβάλλει πλημμύροντός τε αὐτοῦ λιμνάζει, καὶ ῥᾳδίως αὐτὸν διαβάντων ἅτε καὶ τὰ στέριφα τά τε
6 εὔπορα τοῦ χωρίου ἀκριβῶς εἰδότων, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπακολουθήσαντές σφισι ταύτῃ μὲν ἐσφάλησαν, διανηξαμένων δ' αὖθις τῶν Κελτῶν, καί τινων ἑτέρων διὰ γεφύρας ὀλίγον ἄνω διελθόντων, πολλαχόθεν τε ἅμα αὐτοῖς προσέμιξαν καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν κατέκοψαν, τούς τε λοιποὺς ἀπερισκέπτως ἐπιδιώκοντες ἔς τε ἕλη δυσδιέξοδα ἐσέπεσον καὶ συχνοὺς ἀπέβαλον.

21 Διά τε οὖν τοῦτο, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τοῦ Τογοδούμνου

[1] Φλάουιον Bk., φλαουΐου M.
[2] Γναῖος Reim., γάιος M.

accustomed to swim easily in full armour across the most turbulent streams. These fell unexpectedly upon the enemy, but instead of shooting at any of the men they confined themselves to wounding the horses that drew their chariots; and in the confusion that followed not even the enemy's mounted warriors could save themselves. Plautius thereupon sent across Flavius Vespasian also (the man who afterwards became emperor) and his brother Sabinus, who was acting as his lieutenant. So they, too, got across the river in some way and killed many of the foe, taking them by surprise. The survivors, however, did not take to flight, but on the next day joined issue with them again. The struggle was indecisive until Gnaeus Hosidius Geta, after narrowly missing being captured, finally managed to defeat the barbarians so soundly that he received the *ornamenta triumphalia*, though he had not been consul. Thence the Britons retired to the river Thames at a point near where it empties into the ocean and at flood-tide forms a lake. This they easily crossed because they knew where the firm ground and the easy passages in this region were to be found; but the Romans in attempting to follow them were not so successful. However, the Germans swam across again and some others got over by a bridge a little way up-stream, after which they assailed the barbarians from several sides at once and cut down many of them. In pursuing the remainder incautiously, they got into swamps from which it was difficult to make their way out, and so lost a number of men. A.D. 43

Shortly afterwards Togodumnus perished, but the

φθαρέντος οἱ Βρεττανοὶ οὐχ ὅσον ἐνέδοσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον πρὸς τὴν τιμωρίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπισυνέστησαν, φοβηθεὶς ὁ Πλαύτιος οὐκέτι περαιτέρω προεχώρησεν, ἀλλ' αὐτός τε τὰ παρόντα διὰ φυλακῆς ἐποιήσατο καὶ τὸν Κλαύδιον μετεπέμ-
2 ψατο· εἴρητο γὰρ αὐτῷ, εἴ τι βιαιότερον γίγνοιτο, τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, καὶ παρασκευή γε ἐπὶ τῇ στρατείᾳ [1] πολλὴ τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ἐλεφάντων προσυνείλεκτο.

Ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς ἀγγελίας ὁ Κλαύδιος τὰ μὲν οἴκοι τῷ Οὐιτελλίῳ [2] τῷ Λουκίῳ τῷ συνάρχοντι τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐνεχείρισε (καὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἴσου αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ ἑξάμηνον ὅλον ὑπατεῦσαι
3 ἐποίησεν), αὐτὸς δὲ ἐξεστρατεύσατο. καὶ καταπλεύσας ἐς τὰ Ὤστια ἐκεῖθεν ἐς Μασσαλίαν παρεκομίσθη, κἀντεῦθεν τὰ μὲν πεζῇ τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ποταμῶν πορευόμενος πρός τε τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἀφίκετο, καὶ περαιωθεὶς ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν συνέμιξε τοῖς στρατοπέδοις πρὸς τῷ Ταμέσᾳ
4 ἀναμένουσιν αὐτόν. καὶ παραλαβὼν σφας ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐπιδιέβη, καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ συνεστραμμένοις ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε καὶ τὸ Καμουλόδουνον τὸ τοῦ Κυνοβελλίνου βασίλειον εἷλε. κἀκ τούτου συχνοὺς τοὺς μὲν ὁμολογίᾳ τοὺς δὲ καὶ βίᾳ προσαγαγόμενος [3] αὐτο-
5 κράτωρ πολλάκις ἐπωνομάσθη παρὰ τὰ πάτρια (οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἑνὶ [4] οὐδενὶ πλέον ἢ ἅπαξ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ταύτην λαβεῖν), καὶ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν ἀφελόμενος ἐκείνους μὲν τῷ Πλαυτίῳ

[1] τῇ στρατείᾳ Bk., τῆς στρατιᾶς M.
[2] Οὐιτελλίῳ R. Steph., ἰουτελλίωι M.
[3] προσαγαγόμενος Bk., προσαγόμενος M.

Britons, so far from yielding, united all the more firmly to avenge his death. Because of this fact and because of the difficulties he had encountered at the Thames, Plautius became afraid, and instead of advancing any farther, proceeded to guard what he had already won, and sent for Claudius. For he had been instructed to do this in case he met with any particularly stubborn resistance, and, in fact, extensive equipment, including elephants, had already been got together for the expedition. A.D. 43

When the message reached him, Claudius entrusted affairs at home, including the command of the troops, to his colleague Lucius Vitellius, whom he had caused to remain in office like himself for a whole half-year; and he himself then set out for the front. He sailed down the river to Ostia, and from there followed the coast to Massilia; thence, advancing partly by land and partly along the rivers, he came to the ocean and crossed over to Britain, where he joined the legions that were waiting for him near the Thames. Taking over the command of these, he crossed the stream, and engaging the barbarians, who had gathered at his approach, he defeated them in battle and captured Camulodunum,[1] the capital of Cynobellinus. Thereupon he won over numerous tribes, in some cases by capitulation, in others by force, and was saluted as *imperator* several times, contrary to precedent; for no one man may receive this title more than once for one and the same war. He deprived the conquered of their arms and handed them over to Plautius, bidding him also subjugate

[1] The modern Colchester.

[4] ἐπὶ Kuiper, ἐν M.

προσέταξεν, ἐντειλάμενός οἱ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσκαταστρέψασθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείχθη, τὴν ἀγγελίαν τῆς νίκης διὰ τῶν γαμβρῶν, τοῦ τε
22 Μάγνου καὶ τοῦ Σιλανοῦ, προπέμψας. μαθοῦσα δ' ἡ γερουσία τὰ κατειργασμένα Βρεττανικόν τε αὐτὸν ἐπεκάλεσε καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτῷ πέμψαι ἔδωκε. πανήγυρίν τε ἐτησίαν καὶ ἁψῖδας τροπαιοφόρους, τὴν μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὴν δὲ ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ, ὅθεν ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν ἐξαναχθεὶς
2 ἐπεραιώθη, γενέσθαι ἐψηφίσαντο· τῷ τε υἱεῖ αὐτοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἐπέθεσαν, ὥστε καὶ κυρίως τρόπον τινὰ Βρεττανικὸν αὐτὸν ὀνομασθῆναι, καὶ τῇ Μεσσαλίνῃ τὴν προεδρίαν ἥν καὶ ἡ Λιουία ἐσχήκει καὶ τὸ[1] καρπέντῳ χρῆσθαι ἔδοσαν.[2]
3 Ἐκείνους μὲν δὴ τούτοις ἐτίμησαν, τῇ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Γαΐου μνήμῃ ἀχθόμενοι τὸ νόμισμα τὸ χαλκοῦν πᾶν, ὅσον τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ ἐντετυπωμένην εἶχε, συγχωνευθῆναι ἔγνωσαν. καὶ ἐπράχθη μὲν τοῦτο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς βέλτιόν τι ὁ χαλκὸς ἐχώρησεν, ἀλλ' ἀνδριάντας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ Μεσσαλῖνα τοῦ
4 Μνηστῆρος τοῦ ὀρχηστοῦ ἐποιήσατο. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τῷ Γαΐῳ ποτὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐκέχρητο, χάριν τινὰ αὐτῷ ταύτην τῆς πρὸς ἑαυτὴν συνουσίας κατέθετο. σφόδρα γὰρ ἤρα, καὶ ἐπεί γε μηδένα τρόπον μήθ' ὑπισχνουμένη τι μήτε ἐκφοβοῦσα αὐτὸν συγγενέσθαι αὐτῇ ἀναπεῖσαι ἐδύνατο, διελέχθη τῷ ἀνδρί,

[1] τό Rk., τῶι M.
[2] At this point two leaves have been lost from M; its place is taken by L′ (see Introd., Vol. I., p. xxv).

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[1] The carpentum was a two-wheeled covered carriage, the use of which inside the walls of Rome was permitted only as

the remaining districts. Claudius himself now hastened back to Rome, sending ahead the news of his victory by his sons-in-law Magnus and Silanus. The senate on learning of his achievement gave him the title of Britannicus and granted him permission to celebrate a triumph. They voted also that there should be an annual festival to commemorate the event and that two triumphal arches should be erected, one in the city and the other in Gaul, because it was from that country that he had set sail when he crossed over to Britain. They bestowed upon his son the same title as upon him, and, in fact, Britannicus came to be in a way the boy's regular name. Messalina was granted the same privilege of occupying front seats that Livia had enjoyed and also that of using the carpentum.[1] A.D. 43

These were the honours the senate bestowed upon the reigning family; but they hated the memory of Gaius so much that they decreed that all the bronze coinage which had his likeness stamped upon it should be melted down. And yet, though this was done, the bronze was converted to no better use, for Messalina made statues of Mnester, the actor, out of it. For inasmuch as he had once been on intimate terms with Gaius, she made this offering as a mark of gratitude for his consenting to lie with her. For she was desperately enamoured of him, and when she found herself unable in any way either by making him promises or by frightening him to persuade him to have intercourse with her, she had a talk with her husband and asked him that the man should be

a special mark of distinction. The privilege was conferred only upon certain matrons, the Vestals, and the priests, and their use of the vehicle was limited to festal occasions.

ἀξιοῦσα αὐτὸν πειθαρχεῖν οἱ ἀναγκασθῆναι ὡς
5 *καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι αὐτοῦ δεομένῃ· καὶ οὕτως εἰπόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Κλαυδίου πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν προστάττηται ὑπὸ τῆς Μεσσαλίνης ποιεῖν, συνῆν αὐτῇ ὡς καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπ' ἐκείνου κεκελευσμένος. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους συχνοὺς ἔπραττεν· ὡς γὰρ εἰδότος τε τοῦ Κλαυδίου τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ συγχωροῦντός οἱ ἀκολασταίνειν ἐμοιχεύετο.*

23 Τῆς *μὲν οὖν* Βρεττανίας *οὕτω τότε ἑάλω τινά· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα,* Γαΐου *τε* Κρίσπου *τὸ δεύτερον καὶ* Τίτου Στατιλίου *ὑπατευόντων, ἦλθέ τε ἐς τὴν* Ῥώμην *ὁ* Κλαύδιος *ἓξ μῆνας ἀποδημήσας, ἀφ' ὧν ἑκκαίδεκα μόνας ἐν τῇ* Βρεττανίᾳ *ἡμέρας ἐποίησε, καὶ τὰ νικητήρια ἔπεμψε, τά τε ἄλλα κατὰ τὸ νομιζόμενον πράξας καὶ τοὺς ἀναβασμοὺς τοὺς ἐν τῷ* Καπιτωλίῳ *τοῖς γόνασιν ἀναβάς, ἀναφερόντων*
2 *αὐτὸν τῶν γαμβρῶν ἑκατέρωθεν. ἔνειμε δὲ τοῖς μὲν βουλευταῖς τοῖς συνεξετασθεῖσίν οἱ τὰς ἐπινικίους τιμάς, οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς ὑπατευκόσιν, . . .*[1] *ὅπερ καὶ ἄλλως ἀφθονώτατα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλαχίστοις ἐποίει,* Ῥουφρίῳ *δὲ δὴ* Πωλίωνι *τῷ ἐπάρχῳ εἰκόνα καὶ ἕδραν ἐν τῷ βουλευτικῷ, ὁσάκις ἂν ἐς*
3 *τὸ συνέδριον αὐτῷ συνεσίῃ· καὶ ἵνα γε μὴ καινοτομεῖν τι δόξῃ, ἔφη καὶ τὸν* Αὔγουστον *ἐπὶ* Οὐαλερίου *τινὸς* Λίγυος *τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι. τόν τε* Λάκωνα *τὸν πρότερον μὲν τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων ἄρξαντα, τότε δὲ τῶν* Γαλατῶν *ἐπιτροπεύοντα, τῷ τε αὐτῷ τούτῳ καὶ προσέτι ταῖς τῶν ὑπατευ-*
4 *κότων τιμαῖς ἐσέμνυνε. διατελέσας δὲ ταῦτα τὴν*

[1] Lacuna recognized by Bs., who suggests as the missing words *ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις*.

compelled to obey her, pretending that she wanted his help for some different purpose. Claudius accordingly told Mnester to do whatever he should be ordered to do by Messalina; and thus it came about that he lay with her, in the belief that this was the thing he had been commanded to do by her husband. Messalina also adopted this same method with various other men and committed adultery, feigning that Claudius knew what was going on and countenanced her unchastity. A.D. 43

Portions of Britain, then, were captured at this time in the manner described. Later, when Gaius Crispus and Titus Statilius were consuls (the former for the second time), Claudius came to Rome after an absence of six months, of which he had spent only sixteen days in Britain, and celebrated his triumph. In this he followed precedent, even ascending the steps of the Capitol on his knees, with his sons-in-law supporting him on either side. To the senators who had taken part in the campaign with him he granted the *ornamenta triumphalia*, and this not alone to the ex-consuls (but to the rest as well), a thing he was accustomed to do most lavishly on other occasions on the slightest excuse. To Rufrius Pollio, the prefect,[1] he granted an image and a seat in the senate as often as he should go in to that body with the emperor; and lest he should appear to be making an innovation in this respect, he declared that Augustus had done the same thing in the case of a certain Valerius, a Ligurian. He also distinguished Laco, the former prefect of the night-watch and now procurator of the Gauls, in this same manner and also by giving him the rank of an ex-consul. Having A.D. 44

[1] The prefect of the pretorian guard.

πανήγυριν τὴν τῶν νικητηρίων ἐποίησεν, ὑπάτου τινὰ ἐξουσίαν ἐς αὐτὴν λαβών. ἐγίγνετο δὲ ἐν τοῖς δύο ἅμα θεάτροις· καὶ πολλάκις αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπελείπετο[1] τῆς θέας, ἕτεροι δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ
5 ἐπετέλουν αὐτήν. τῶν δὲ δὴ ἵππων ἐπήγγειλε[2] μὲν ἁμίλλας ὅσας ἂν ἡμέρα[3] ἐνδέξηται, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πλείους τῶν δέκα ἐγένοντο· ἄρκτοι τε γὰρ μεταξὺ τοῦ δρόμου αὐτῶν ἐσφάγησαν καὶ ἀθληταὶ ἠγωνίσαντο, πυρρίχην τε Ἀσιανοὶ παῖδες μετά-
6 πεμπτοι ὠρχήσαντο. καὶ ἄλλην δέ τινα πανήγυριν, ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ καὶ αὐτήν, οἱ περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τεχνῖται, συγχωρηθέν σφισιν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, ἐποίησαν. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ διὰ τὰ Βρεττανικὰ ἐπράχθη, καὶ ἵνα γε καὶ ἄλλοι ῥᾷον ἐς ὁμολογίαν ἴωσιν, ἐψηφίσθη τὰς συμβάσεις ἁπάσας, ὅσας ἂν ὁ Κλαύδιος ἢ καὶ οἱ ἀντιστράτηγοι αὐτοῦ πρός τινας ποιήσωνται, κυρίας ὡς καὶ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν τόν τε δῆμον εἶναι.

24 Τήν τε Ἀχαΐαν καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν αἱρετοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἐξ οὗπερ ὁ Τιβέριος ἦρξε, διδομένας ἀπέδωκεν ὁ Κλαύδιος τότε τῷ κλήρῳ· καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως καταλύσας
2 ταμίαις αὐτὴν[4] κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπέτρεψεν, οὐχ ὥστε καὶ ἐτησίους σφᾶς, ὅπερ ἐπί τε ἐκείνων πρότερον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, ἄρχειν, ἀλλ' οἱ δύο οἱ αὐτοὶ τρία ὅλα ἔτη αὐτὴν διῴκουν, καὶ οἱ μὲν στρατηγίας εὐθὺς ἐλάμβανον, οἱ δὲ καὶ μισθὸν ἔφερον ὅπως ποτὲ
3 καὶ ἔδοξαν ἄρξαι. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ταμίαις τὴν

[1] ἀπελείπετο R. Steph., ἀπελίπετο L'.
[2] ἐπήγγειλε R. Steph., ἐπήγγελλε L'.
[3] ἡμέρα Fabr., ἡμέρας L'. [4] αὐτὴν Leuncl., αὐτὰς L'.

attended to these matters, he held the triumphal festival, assuming a kind of consular power for the occasion. The festival was celebrated in both theatres at the same time; and in the course of the spectacles he often absented himself while others took charge in his place. He had announced as many horse-races as could take place in a day, yet there were not more than ten of them. For between the different races bears were slain, athletes contested, and boys summoned from Asia performed the Pyrrhic dance. Another festival, likewise in honour of his victory, was given by the artists of the stage with the consent of the senate. All this was done on account of the successes in Britain; and in order that other peoples should more readily come to terms, it was voted that all the agreements that Claudius or his lieutenants should make with any peoples should be binding, the same as if made by the senate and people. A.D. 44

Achaia and Macedonia, which ever since the reign of Tiberius had been assigned to governors directly appointed, Claudius now made to depend upon the lot once more.[1] He also did away with the praetors in charge of the finances, putting the business in the hands of quaestors, as it had been of old; these quaestors, however, were not annual magistrates, as had been the case with them previously and with the praetors subsequently, but the same two men attended to the business for three whole years. Some of these quaestors secured the praetorship immediately afterward and others drew a salary according to the estimate placed upon their administration of the office. The quaestors, then, were given charge of

[1] See note on lviii. 25, 5.

διοίκησιν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν τῶν[1] ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ
ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἀντέδωκε (πάσας γὰρ αὐτὰς
ἔπαυσε), τοῖς δὲ δὴ στρατηγοῖς δίκας τινάς, ἃς
πρότερον οἱ ὕπατοι διεδίκαζον, ἀντενεχείρισε.
τοῖς τε στρατευομένοις, ἐπειδὴ γυναῖκας οὐκ
ἐδύναντο ἔκ γε τῶν νόμων ἔχειν, τὰ τῶν γεγα-
4 μηκότων δικαιώματα ἔδωκε. καὶ Μάρκῳ Ἰουλίῳ
Κοττίῳ τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχήν, ἣν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἄλπεων
τῶν ὁμωνύμων εἶχε, προσεπηύξησε, βασιλέα αὐτὸν
τότε πρῶτον ὀνομάσας. τῶν τε Ῥοδίων τὴν ἐλευ-
θερίαν ἀφείλετο, ὅτι Ῥωμαίους τινὰς ἀνεσκο-
5 λόπισαν. καὶ Οὐμβώνιον Σιλίωνα[2] ἄρχοντα
Βαιτικῆς μεταπέμψας ἐξέωσεν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου
ὡς καὶ σῖτον ὀλίγον τοῖς ἐν τῇ Μαυριτανίᾳ
στρατευομένοις ἀποστείλαντα· τοῦτο γὰρ κατη-
γορήθη, ἐπεὶ τό γε ἀληθὲς οὐχ οὕτως εἶχεν, ἀλλ᾽
6 ὅτι τισὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων προσέκρουσε. καὶ ὃς
συνήνεγκε μὲν ἐς τὸ πρατήριον πάντα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ
ἔπιπλα, πολλά τε καὶ περικαλλῆ ὄντα, ὡς καὶ
πάντα αὐτὰ ἀποκηρύξων, μόνην δὲ δὴ τὴν βου-
λευτικὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐπώλησεν, ἐνδεικνύμενός σφισι
διὰ τούτου ὅτι οὔτε τι δεινὸν πεπονθὼς εἴη καὶ
7 δύναιτο ἰδιωτεύων ἡδέως βιοτεύειν. τότε μὲν δὴ
ταῦτ᾽ ἐπράχθη, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν διὰ τῶν ἐννέα
ἡμερῶν ἀγομένην ἐς ἑτέραν ἡμέραν ἱερῶν τινων
ἕνεκα μετέθεσαν· καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλοτε πολλάκις
ἐγένετο.

25 Τῷ δ᾽ ἐπιόντι ἔτει ὕπατοι μὲν Μᾶρκος τε
Οὐινίκιος δεύτερον καὶ Στατίλιος Κορουῖνος[3]
ἦρξαν, Κλαύδιος δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν πάντα τὰ εἰθισμένα

[1] ἀρχῶν τῶν Reim., ἀρχόντων L′.
[2] Σιλίωνα R. Steph., σιλλίωνα L′.

the finances in place of governorships in Italy[1] outside of the city (for Claudius abolished all the latter positions); and to the praetors in place of their former duties were entrusted various judicial cases which the consuls had previously tried. The men serving in the army, since they could not legally have wives, were granted the privileges of married men. Marcus Julius Cottius received an addition to his ancestral domain, which lay in that part of the Alps that bears his family name, and he was now for the first time called king. The Rhodians were deprived of their liberty because they had impaled some Romans. Umbonius Silio, governor of Baetica, was summoned and expelled from the senate because he had sent too little grain to the soldiers then serving in Mauretania. At any rate, that was the accusation made against him; but it was not the true reason, for his treatment was really due to his having offended some of the freedmen. He accordingly brought all his furniture, which was considerable in amount and very beautiful, to the auction place, as if he were going to call for bids on all of it; but he sold only his senatorial dress, thereby indicating to them that he had suffered no great loss and could enjoy life as a private citizen. Besides these events of that year, the weekly market was transferred to a different day because of some religious rites; and this also happened on many other occasions. A.D. 44

The next year Marcus Vinicius and Statilius Corvinus became consuls, the former for a second time. Claudius himself took all the customary A.D. 45

[1] Cf. lv. 1, 4

[3] Κορουῖνος Leuncl. κορουίνιος L'.

διώμοσε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐκώλυσε κατ' ἄνδρα
2 *ὀμόσαι· καὶ οὕτως εἷς*[1] *τις τῶν στρατηγούντων, ὥσπερ ποτέ, καὶ ἕτερος τῶν δημαρχούντων, ἀπό τε τῶν ἄλλων ὡς ἑκάστων εἷς, ἐξῆρξε τῶν ὅρκων τοῖς ὁμοίοις. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω ἔτη ἐπράχθη. ἐπειδή τε ἡ πόλις πολλῶν εἰκόνων ἐπληροῦτο (ἐξῆν γὰρ ἀνέδην*[2] *τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐν γραφῇ καὶ ἐν χαλκῷ λίθῳ τε δημοσιεύεσθαι),*
3 *τάς τε πλείους αὐτῶν ἑτέρωσέ ποι μετέθηκε, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἀπηγόρευσε*[3] *μηδενὶ ἰδιώτῃ, ᾧ ἂν μὴ ἡ βουλὴ ἐπιτρέψῃ, τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐξεῖναι, πλὴν εἴ τις ἔργον τι ᾠκοδομηκὼς εἴη ἢ καὶ κατασκευάσαιτο· τούτοις γὰρ δή, τοῖς τε συγγενέσιν αὐτῶν,*
4 *ἵστασθαι ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις ἐκείνοις ἐφῆκε. καί τινα ἐπὶ δώροις τῶν ἀρξάντων τινὸς ἔθνους φυγαδεύσας, πάνθ' ὅσα ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐπεκτήσατο ἐδήμευσεν. ὅπως τε μὴ διακρούοιντο οἱ τοιοῦτοι τοὺς ἐθέλοντάς σφισι δικάζεσθαι, οὐδενὶ ἀρχὴν*
5 *ἐπ' ἀρχῇ παραχρῆμα ἐδίδου. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐνενόμιστο μὲν καὶ πρότερον, ἵνα ἀπροφασίστως τις αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ λαγχάνῃ (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῖς παριεμένοις τὰς ἐκδημίας ποι*[4] *ἐπετρέπετο ἐπαλλήλας*[5] *ποιεῖσθαι, ὅπως εἰ δή τι πλημμελήσειαν, μὴ προσλαμβάνοιεν, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀρχῶν οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀποδημιῶν, τὸ ἀνεύθυνον),*
6 *ἐξελελοίπει δέ. καὶ οὕτω γε ἀκριβῶς ἑκάτερον*

[1] *εἷς* H. Steph., *εἴ* L'.
[2] *ἀνέδην* Leuncl., *ἀναίδην* L'.
[3] *ἀπηγόρευσε* R. Steph., *ἀνηγόρευσε* L'.
[4] *ποι* Leuncl., *οἷς ποι* L'.
[5] *ἐπαλλήλας* Reim., *ἐπ' ἀλλήλαις* L'.

oaths, but prevented the rest from taking oath individually. Accordingly, as in earlier times, one of the praetors, one of the tribunes, and one from each of the other groups of officials recited the oaths for their colleagues. This practice was followed for several years. In view of the fact that the city was becoming filled with a great multitude of images (for any who wished were free to have their likenesses appear in public in a painting or in bronze or marble), Claudius removed most of them elsewhere and for the future forbade that any private citizen should be allowed to follow the practice, except by permission of the senate or unless he should have built or repaired some public work; for he permitted such persons and their relatives to have their images set up in the places in question. After banishing the governor of one of the provinces for venality, the emperor confiscated to public uses all the profits which the man had made while in office. And in order to prevent such officials from eluding those who wished to bring them to trial, he would not give anybody an office immediately after his retirement from another. This, in fact, had been the custom in earlier days also, in order that anybody might freely institute suit against such officials in the intervening period; indeed, after their terms had expired, they were not even permitted to make trips away from the city in immediate succession, since it was intended that if they were guilty of any irregularity, they should not gain the further benefit of escaping investigation either by holding new offices or by absence from the city. This custom, however, had fallen into disuse. So carefully, now, did Claudius guard against both possibilities that he A.D. 45

αὐτῶν ἐφύλαττεν ὥστε μηδὲ παρεδρεύσαντά τινι
ἐπιτρέψαι ἐς ἡγεμονίαν εὐθὺς ἔθνους ἐπιβάλ-
λουσάν οἱ κληροῦσθαι, καίτοι καὶ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτη
τινὰς ἐῶν αὐτῶν ἄρχειν, αἱρετούς τε ἔστιν οὓς
πέμπων. τοῖς δ' οὖν αἰτουμένοις ὥστε ἔξω τῆς
Ἰταλίας ἀποδημῆσαι ἐφίει μὲν καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν
ἄνευ τῆς βουλῆς, τοῦ γε μὴν καὶ νόμῳ τινὶ αὐτὸ[1]
7 δοκεῖν ποιεῖν δόγμα γενέσθαι ἐκέλευσε. καὶ
τοῦτο μὲν καὶ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει ἐψηφίσθη· τότε
δὲ τήν τε πανήγυριν τὴν εὐκταίαν, ἣν τῆς
στρατείας[2] αὐτοῦ[3] ἕνεκα προϋπέσχητο, διέθηκε
καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ σιτοδοτουμένῳ πέντε μὲν καὶ
ἑβδομήκοντα δραχμὰς ἅπασι διέδωκεν, ἔστι δ'
οἷς καὶ πλέον, ὥστε καὶ ἐς τριακοσίας καὶ δώδεκα
8 καὶ ἡμίσειάν τισι γενέσθαι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πάντα
αὐτὸς διένειμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ γαμβροὶ αὐτοῦ,
ἐπειδήπερ ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας ἡ διάδοσις ἐγένετο
καὶ ἠθέλησε καὶ δικάσαι ἐν ταύταις. τοῖς τε
Κρονίοις τὴν πέμπτην ἡμέραν τὴν καταδειχθεῖ-
σάν τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαΐου καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καταλυθεῖσαν
ἀπέδωκε.

26 Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἥλιος ἐν τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ
ἐκλείψειν ἔμελλεν, ἐφοβήθη τε μή τις ἐκ τούτου
ταραχὴ γένηται, ἐπεὶ ἄλλα ἄττα τέρατα συνεβε-
βήκει, καὶ προέγραψεν οὐ μόνον ὅτι τε ἐκλείψει
καὶ ὁπότε καὶ ἐφ' ὁπόσον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς αἰτίας
δι' ἃς ἀναγκαίως γενήσεσθαι τοῦτ' ἔμελλεν.
2 εἰσὶ δὲ αἵδε. ἡ σελήνη τὴν κάτω τοῦ ἡλίου
περιφοράν, ὥσπερ που πεπίστευται (εἴτ' οὖν

1 αὐτὸ R. Steph., αὐτὸν L′.
2 στρατείας H. Steph., στρατιᾶς L′.
3 αὐτοῦ Reim., αὐτοῦ L′.

would not even permit one who had acted as assessor to a governor to draw lots at once for the governorship of a province that would naturally fall to him; nevertheless, he allowed some of them to govern for two years, and in some cases he sent out men appointed by himself. Those who requested the privilege of leaving Italy were given permission by Claudius on his own responsibility without action on the part of the senate; yet, in order to appear to be doing this under some form of law, he ordered that a decree should be passed sanctioning this procedure; and a similar vote was passed the next year also. He now celebrated the festival of thanksgiving which he had vowed for the success of his campaign. To the populace supported by public dole he gave three hundred sesterces apiece, and in some instances more, so that a few received as much as twelve hundred and fifty sesterces. He did not, however, distribute it all in person, but his sons-in-law assisted him, because the distribution lasted several days and he desired to hold court during this time. In the case of the Saturnalia he restored the fifth day, which had been designated by Gaius but later abolished. A.D. 45

Since there was to be an eclipse of the sun on his birthday, he feared that there might be some disturbance in consequence, inasmuch as some other portents had already occurred; he therefore issued a proclamation in which he stated not only the fact that there was to be an eclipse, and when, and for how long, but also the reasons for which this was bound to happen. These reasons I will now give. The moon, which revolves in its orbit below the sun (or so it is believed), either directly below it or

ἐφεξῆς αὐτοῦ[1] εἴτε καὶ μετὰ τὸν Ἑρμῆν αὐτὴν[2]
τήν τε Ἀφροδίτην ἔχει[3]), κινηθεῖσα,[4] κινεῖται
μὲν κατὰ μῆκος, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐκεῖνος, κινεῖται δὲ
καὶ κατὰ βάθος, ὥσπερ ἴσως καὶ ἐκεῖνος, κινεῖται
δὲ καὶ ἐν πλάτει, ὅπερ οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς τῷ ἡλίῳ
3 ὑπάρχει. ὅταν οὖν κατά τε τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτῷ
εὐθυωρίαν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡμετέραν ὄψιν γένηται καὶ
ὑπὸ τὴν φλόγα αὐτοῦ ὑποδράμῃ, τότε τὴν αὐγὴν
αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐς τὴν γῆν καθήκουσαν τοῖς μὲν ἐπὶ
πλεῖον τοῖς δὲ ἐπ' ἔλαττον διεσκέπασεν, ἔστι δ'
4 οἷς[5] οὐδὲ ἐπὶ βραχύτατον ἀποκρύπτει· ἴδιον γὰρ
ἀεὶ φῶς ὁ ἥλιος ἔχων οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε αὐτοῦ ἀπαλ-
λάττεται, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' οἷς ἂν ἡ σελήνη μὴ
ἐπίπροσθεν, ὥστ' αὐτὸν συσκιάζεσθαι, γένηται,
ὁλόκληρος ἀεὶ φαίνεται. περὶ μὲν δὴ τὸν ἥλιον
ταῦτά τε συμβαίνει καὶ τότε ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλαυδίου
5 ἐδημοσιεύθη· ἡ δὲ σελήνη (οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἀπὸ
τρόπου καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐκείνην εἰπεῖν, ἐπειδήπερ
ἅπαξ τοῦ λόγου τούτου προσηψάμην) ὁσάκις
ἂν καταντικρὺ τῷ ἡλίῳ γενομένη (ἐν γὰρ ταῖς
πανσελήνοις μόνως αὐτῇ τοῦτο, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐκείνῳ
ἐν ταῖς νουμηνίαις, συμβαίνει), ἐς τὸ τῆς γῆς
σκίασμα κωνοειδὲς ὂν ἐμπέσῃ (γίγνεται δὲ τοῦτο
ὅταν διὰ τῶν μέσων ἐν τῇ τοῦ πλάτους κινήσει
περιφέρηται), στέρεταί τε[6] τοῦ ἡλιοειδοῦς φωτός,
καὶ αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτήν, ὁποίαπερ ἐστί, φαντάζεται.
27 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτά ἐστι, τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυτοῦ
ἐκείνου ἐξελθόντος Οὐαλέριός τε Ἀσιατικὸς τὸ

[1] M resumes with αὐτοῦ.
[2] αὐτὴν Kuiper, αὐτοῦ M, αὐτὸν Xiph.
[3] ἔχει M (but corr. in marg. to ἔχουσα) Xiph.
[4] κινηθεῖσα Kuiper, κινήσεις M Xiph.

perhaps with Mercury and Venus intervening, has a longitudinal motion, just as the sun has, and a vertical motion, as the other perhaps likewise has, but it has also a latitudinal motion such as the sun never shows under any conditions. When, therefore, the moon gets in a direct line with the sun over our heads and passes under its blazing orb, it obscures the rays from that body that extend toward the earth. To some of the earth's inhabitants this obscuration lasts for a longer and to others for a shorter time, whereas to still others it does not occur for even the briefest moment. For since the sun always has a light of its own, it is never deprived of it, and consequently to all those between whom and the sun the moon does not pass, so as to throw a shadow over it, it always appears entire. This, then, is what happens to the sun, and it was made public by Claudius at that time. But now that I have once touched upon this subject, it will not be out of place to give the explanation of a lunar eclipse also. Whenever, then, the moon gets directly opposite the sun (for it is eclipsed only at full moon, just as the sun is eclipsed at the time of new moon) and runs into the cone-shaped shadow of the earth, a thing that happens whenever it passes through the mean point in its latitudinal motion, it is then deprived of the sun's light and appears by itself just as it really is. Such is the explanation of these phenomena. A.D. 45

At the close of that year Valerius Asiaticus and Marcus Silanus became consuls, the former for a A.D. 46

[5] ἔστι δ' οἷς supplied by Leuncl.
[6] τε Bk., γάρ M Xiph.

δεύτερον καὶ Μᾶρκος Σιλανὸς ὑπάτευσαν. καὶ οὗτος μὲν ἐφ' ὅσον ᾑρέθη ἦρξεν, Ἀσιατικὸς δὲ ἀπεδείχθη μὲν ὡς καὶ δι' ἔτους ὑπατεύσων, ὃ καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων ἐγίγνετο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐποίησε τοῦτο,
2 *ἀλλ' ἀφῆκε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐθελούσιος. καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ ἕτεροί τινες ἔπραξαν· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὑπὸ πενίας (τὰ γὰρ ἀναλώματα τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἱπποδρομίαις γιγνόμενα ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐκεχωρήκει· τετράκις γὰρ καὶ εἰκοσάκις ὡς πλήθει ἡμιλλῶντο), ὁ δ' Ἀσιατικὸς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πλούτου, ὑφ' οὗπερ καὶ ἀπέθανεν·*
3 *ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔν τε πολλῇ περιουσίᾳ ἦν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δεύτερον ὑπατεύειν καὶ ἐπαχθὴς καὶ ἐπίφθονος πολλοῖς*[1] *ἐγεγόνει, καταλῦσαι τρόπον τινὰ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἠθέλησεν ὡς καὶ ἧττόν τι παρὰ τοῦτο*
4 *κινδυνεύσων. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐξηπατήθη, ὁ δὲ Οὐινίκιος ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ Κλαυδίου οὐδὲν ἔπαθεν (ἦν μὲν γὰρ διαπρεπὴς ἀνήρ, τὴν δὲ δὴ ἡσυχίαν ἄγων καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πράττων ἐσῴζετο), ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Μεσσαλίνης, ὑποψίᾳ τε ὅτι τὴν*[2] *γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἰουλίαν ἀπεκτόνει, καὶ ὀργῇ*[3] *ὅτι οὐκ ἠθέλησέν οἱ συγγενέσθαι, φαρμάκῳ διεφθάρη. καὶ οὕτω ταφῆς τε δημοσίας καὶ ἐπαίνων ἠξιώθη· πολλοῖς γὰρ*
5 *δὴ καὶ ταῦτ' ἐδίδοτο. Ἀσίνιος*[4] *δὲ δὴ Γάλλος ὁ τοῦ Δρούσου πρὸς μητρὸς ἀδελφὸς ἐπεβούλευσε μὲν τῷ Κλαυδίῳ, οὐκ ἀπέθανε δὲ ἀλλ' ὑπερωρίσθη. αἴτιον δὲ ἴσως μὲν καὶ ἐκεῖνο ὅτι μήτε στράτευμα προπαρασκευάσας μήτε χρήματα προαθροίσας, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνοίας πολλῆς, ὡς καὶ ἑκουσίων τῶν Ῥωμαίων διὰ τὸ γένος ἄρξων,*

[1] πολλοῖς R. Steph., πόλυς M. [2] τὴν Rk., τήν τε M.
[3] ὀργῇ R. Steph., ὀργῆς M.

second time. Silanus held office for the period for which he had been elected; but Asiaticus, though chosen to serve for the whole year (as happened in the case of others, too) failed to finish his term, but resigned the office voluntarily. Some others, indeed, had done this also, but only by reason of poverty; for the expenses connected with the Circensian games had greatly increased, since there were usually twenty-four races. Asiaticus, however, resigned because of his very wealth, which also proved his destruction. For inasmuch as he was extremely well-to-do and by being consul a second time had aroused the dislike and jealousy of many, he desired to overthrow himself, so to speak, feeling that by so doing he would incur less danger; but in this he was deceived. Vinicius, on the other hand, though he suffered no harm from Claudius (for though a distinguished man, he was contriving to save his life by keeping quiet and minding his own business), did perish at the hands of Messalina, who suspected that he had killed his wife Julia and was angry because he refused to have intercourse with her, and therefore poisoned him. And yet even so he was held to deserve a public funeral and eulogies; for these honours were granted to many. Asinius Gallus, half-brother of Drusus by the same mother, conspired against Claudius, but instead of being put to death was banished. One reason for this, perhaps, was the fact that he had not got ready an army or collected any funds beforehand but was emboldened merely by his extreme folly, which led him to think that the Romans would submit to his ruling them on A.D. 46

[1] Ἀσίνιος R. Steph., ἀσιανὸς M.

ἐθρασύνετο· τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον ὅτι καὶ σμικρότατος καὶ δυσειδέστατος ὤν, κἀκ τούτου καταφρονηθείς, γέλωτα μᾶλλον ἢ κίνδυνον ὦφλεν.

28 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ πάνυ τοῦ Κλαυδίου ἐπῄνουν, καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ ἐκεῖνο ὅτι ἐντυχόντος τινὸς τοῖς δημάρχοις κατὰ τοῦ ἐξελευθερώσαντος αὐτόν, καὶ ὑπηρέτην ἐπ' αὐτὸν αἰτήσαντος καὶ λαβόντος, ἠγανάκτησε, καὶ ἐκεῖνόν τε καὶ τοὺς συνεξετασθέντας αὐτῷ ἐκόλασε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀπηγόρευσε μηδένα τοῖς τοιούτοις[1] κατὰ τῶν δεσποτευσάντων αὐτῶν βοηθεῖν, εἰ δὲ μή, στέρεσθαι τοῦ δίκην αὐτοὺς ἑτέροις λαγχάνειν.
2 δουλεύοντα μέντοι αὐτὸν τῇ τε γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις ὁρῶντες ἤσχαλλον, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ σπουδασάντων ποτὲ τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κλαυδίου τὸν Σαβῖνον τὸν τῶν Κελτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαΐου ἄρξαντα ἐν μονομαχίᾳ τινὶ ἀποκτεῖναι, ἡ Μεσσαλῖνα ἔσωσε· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ ἐπλη-
3 σίαζε. τοῦτό τε οὖν αὐτοὺς ἠνία, καὶ ὅτι τὸν Μνηστῆρα ἀποσπάσασα ἀπὸ τοῦ θεάτρου εἶχε, καὶ ὁπότε γε λόγος τις ἐν τῷ δήμῳ[2] περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι μὴ ὀρχοῖτο γίγνοιτο, θαῦμά τε ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ἀπελογεῖτο τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ὀμνὺς
4 ὅτι μὴ συνείη αὐτῷ. πιστεύοντες γὰρ ὄντως ἀγνοεῖν αὐτὸν τὰ γιγνόμενα, ἐλυποῦντο μὲν ὅτι μόνος οὐκ ἠπίστατο τὰ ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ δρώμενα, ὅσα καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἤδη διεπεφοιτήκει, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐξελέγχειν αὐτὰ ἤθελον, τὸ μέν τι τὴν Μεσσαλῖναν αἰδούμενοι, τὸ δὲ καὶ τοῦ Μνηστῆρος

[1] μηδένα τοῖς τοιούτοις Bs., μηδὲ τοῖς οὕτω M.
[2] Here M ends (with δή).

account of his family; but the chief reason was that he was a very small and ugly man and so, being held in contempt, incurred ridicule rather than peril. A.D. 46

People were loud in their praise of Claudius for his moderation in this matter; and especially did they praise his action in showing displeasure when a certain freedman appealed to the tribunes against the man who had freed him, thus asking and securing an assistant against his former master. Claudius punished not only this fellow but also his associates, and at the same time he forbade any one in future to render assistance to persons of this sort against their former masters, on pain of being deprived of the right to bring suit against others. But people were vexed at seeing him the slave of his wife and the freedmen. This feeling was especially strong on an occasion when Claudius himself and all the rest were eager to see Sabinus, the former prefect of the German bodyguard in the time of Gaius, killed in a gladiatorial combat, and Messalina saved him; for he had been one of her paramours. They were also vexed because she had taken Mnester away from the theatre and was keeping him with her; but whenever there was any talk among the people about Mnester's failure to dance, Claudius would appear surprised and would make various apologies, swearing that he was not at his house. The people, believing that he was really ignorant of what was taking place, were grieved to think that he alone failed to realize what was going on in the palace—behaviour so notorious, in fact, that news of it had already travelled to the enemy. They were unwilling, however, to reveal to him the true state of affairs, partly through awe of Messalina and partly to spare

5 φειδόμενοι· ὅσον γὰρ ἐκείνη διὰ τὸ κάλλος, τοσοῦτον τῷ δήμῳ διὰ τὴν τέχνην ἤρεσκεν. οὕτω γάρ που δεινὸς σοφιστὴς ἐν τῇ ὀρχήσει ἦν ὥστε τοῦ ὁμίλου μεγάλῃ ποτὲ σπουδῇ δρᾶμά τι αὐτὸν ἐπιβόητον ὀρχήσασθαι δεομένου, παρακῦψαί τε ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι "οὐ δύναμαι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι· τῷ γὰρ Ὀρέστῃ συγκεκοίμημαι."

6 Ὁ δ' οὖν Κλαύδιος ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἔπραττε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλῆθός τε δικῶν ἀμύθητον ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἀπήντων ἐπ' αὐτὰς[1] οἵ τι[2] προσδοκῶντες ἐλαττωθήσεσθαι, προεῖπε διὰ προγράμματος ὅτι καὶ κατὰ ἀπόντων αὐτῶν ἐντὸς ῥητῆς τινος ἡμέρας δικάσει, καὶ ἐνεπέδωσε τοῦτο.

7 Ὅτι Μιθριδάτης ὁ τῶν Ἰβήρων βασιλεὺς ἐνεωτέρισε, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο εἰς τὸν κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον. τῆς δὲ μητρὸς ἀντιλεγούσης καὶ φυγεῖν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ πείθειν αὐτὸν ἠδύνατο, βουληθείσης, βουλόμενος ἐπικαλύψαι τὸ σπουδαζόμενον, αὐτὸς μὲν παρεσκευάζετο, πέμπει δὲ Κότυν τὸν ἀδελφὸν εἰς πρεσβείαν, φιλίους λόγους τῷ Κλαυδίῳ κομίζοντα. ὁ δὲ παραπρεσβεύσας πάντα αὐτῷ κατεμήνυσε, καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰβηρίας ἀντὶ Μιθριδάτου γίνεται.—Petr. Patr. *exc. de leg.*[G] 2 (Hoesch. p. 15 = fr. 3 Muell. *Fragm. hist. gr.* 4 p. 184 sq.).

[1] ἐπ' αὐτὰς Rk., ἐπ' αὐταῖς L', ἐπ' αὐτῆς cod. Peir.
[2] οἵ τι Casaubon, ἔτι L' cod. Peir.

Mnester. For the latter pleased them as much by his skill as he did the empress by his good looks. Indeed, he was such a clever actor that once, when the crowd with great enthusiasm begged him to perform a famous pantomime, he put his head out from behind the stage and said: "I cannot comply, for I am abed with Orestes." This was the way Claudius dealt with these matters. A.D. 46

As the number of law-suits was now beyond all reckoning and those who expected to lose their cases would no longer put in an appearance, he issued a proclamation announcing that he would decide the cases against them by a given day even in their absence; and he strictly enforced this rule.

Mithridates, king of the Iberians,[1] undertook to rebel and was making his preparations for war against the Romans. His mother, however, opposed him, and when she could not persuade him to desist, determined to take flight. He then desired to conceal his project and accordingly, while still continuing his preparations himself, he sent his brother Cotys as an envoy to convey a friendly message to Claudius. But Cotys proved a treacherous ambassador and told the emperor everything; thus he was made king of Iberia in place of Mithridates.

[1] This is an error. Mithridates of Bosporus is the person actually meant.

INDEX

(Dates are A.D. unless otherwise specified.)

INDEX

INDEX

INDEX

INDEX

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